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ENGLISH WAYFARING LIFE IN THE MIDDLE AGES.

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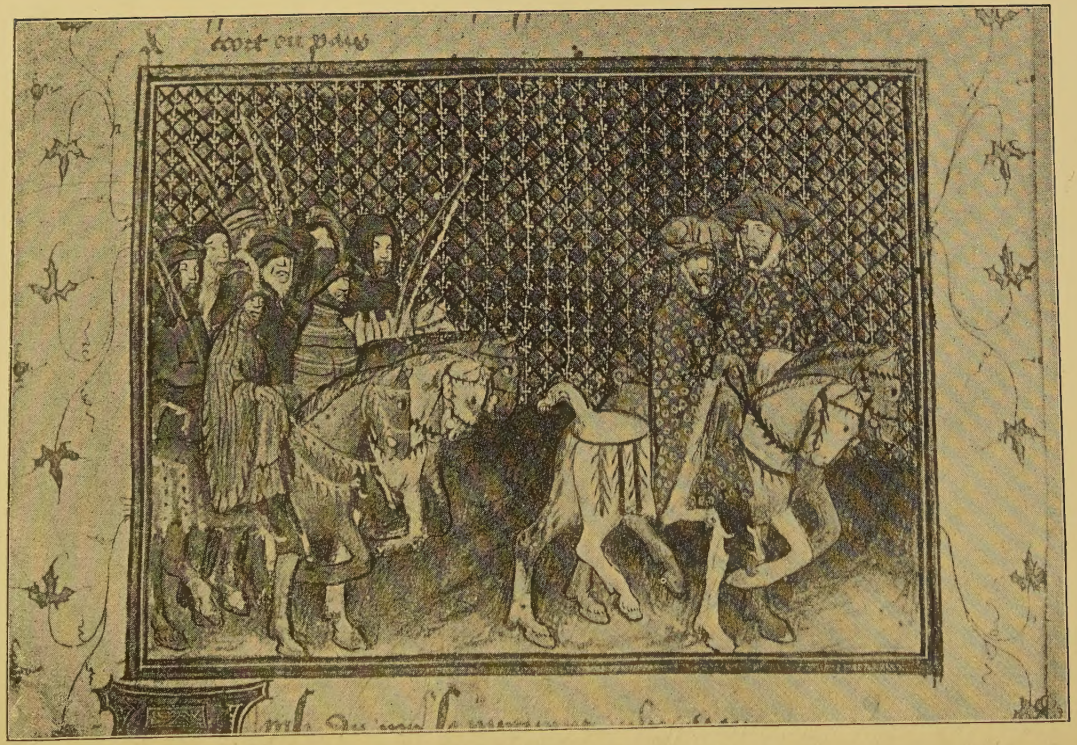
1. Le Théâtre en Angleterre depuis la conquête jusqu'aux prédécesseurs immédiats de Shakespeare (1066–1583). Deuxième édition, corrigée et augmentée. Paris, Leroux, 1881.

2. Le Roman au temps de Shakespeare. Paris, Delagrave, 1887.

3. Observations sur la vision de Piers Plowman. Paris, Leroux, 1879.

4. Le Roman anglais; Origine et formation des grandes écoles de romanciers du XVIII^e^. siècle. Paris, Leroux, 1886.



KNIGHTS TRAVELLING. AUGUST 1399. [*Frontispiece.*

ENGLISH
WAYFARING LIFE
IN THE MIDDLE AGES
(XIVth CENTURY)

BY

J. J. JUSSERAND

CONSEILLER D'AMBASSADE, DR. ÉS LETTRES

TRANSLATED FROM THE FRENCH BY

LUCY TOULMIN SMITH

EDITOR OF "RICART'S KALENDAR," "THE YORK PLAYS," &c.

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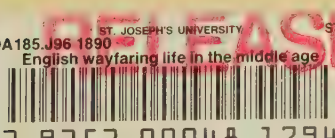
English wayfaring life in the middle age



We know Egypt, thanks to her tombs, and we know Rome, thanks to Pompeii, in these modern days, better than we know the Middle Ages of Europe and the life of an ordinary man during that period. We cannot hope to find in any corner of France or England a Pompeii, catacombs, or pyramids. In our countries the human torrent has never ceased flowing; rapid, impetuous, and tumultuous in its course, it has at no time ensured the preservation of the past by deposits of quiet ooze.

But, this common life of our ancestors, is it indiscernible, impossible to reconstruct? is that of kings and princes alone accessible to our view through the distance of ages, like those great monuments which men see when they cannot distinguish the houses in a distant city? Surely not. But to get at the heart of the nation, to find touch with the greater number, a patient and extended inquiry is necessary. To make this usefully, we must break more or less completely with the old habit of taking the ideas of every-day life in the Middle Ages only from

the descriptions, the satires, or the eulogies of poets. Literature is no doubt of great help in these restorations, but it is not the only, nor even the principal source of information. Poets embellish, imagine, colour, or transform; we must not accept their statements without checking them.

This is just what we can do. We may have no such burial grounds to explore as in Egypt, nor a whole town to bring to light as at Pompeii, but we have what is worth almost as much: the incomparable depositories of the Records of old England. Immense strides have been made, especially within the last hundred years, to render their contents public. Thousands of documents have been printed or analysed, and the work is still continuing; indeed, looking at the progress made of late, a feeling of wonder cannot be repressed at the premature alarm of historians like Robertson, who wrote in 1769*: "The universal progress of science during the two last centuries, the art of printing, and other obvious causes, have filled Europe with such a multiplicity of histories, and with such a vast collection of historical materials, that the term of human life is too short for the study or even the perusal of them." The field of research has never ceased to widen, while the boundaries of human life do not recede; but students comprehend that the best means of making themselves useful is to impose limits on themselves, to renounce vast ambitions, and to study separate points only of the immense problem to the best of their power. The work of unearthing is so far advanced that it is possible usefully to sift the riches drawn from these new catacombs.*

At first sight all these petitions, these year-books full

of reports of lawsuits, these long rows of statutes and ordinances seem the coldest things in the world, the most devoid of life. They are not even mummies or skeletons, they look as if they were nothing more than the dust of old bones. But to judge of them thus were to judge in a very superficial manner; no doubt it would be at once more agreeable and less troublesome to keep to the descriptions of tale-tellers; but how many chances of error do they not present! With the year-books, and the petitions followed by inquiries, we are on distinctly more solid ground; we soon grow accustomed to their language, and, under the apparently cold dust, we end by finding sparks of life, we can then with little effort restore scenes, understand existences, catch imprecations or cries of triumph.

It was with this thought that the present work was undertaken some years ago. In it there is less mention of Chaucer and more of the "Rolls of Parliament" than is often found in the works devoted to this period; this does not arise from want of admiration for that great man, quite the contrary, but from the need of a test and of means of control, which may perhaps be deemed legitimate. Above all, the present writer has desired to confine himself in this work within strict limits; one only of the many sides of the common life in the fourteenth century is here discussed, a side little enough known and sometimes difficult to observe, namely, the character and the quality of the chief kinds of nomadic existence then carried on in England. And even in that reduced compass he is very far from making claim to completeness; so that this work is presented to the public more as a sketch than a treatise.

The author has profited by the occasion afforded him by this translation to revise the text of his book (which appeared in 1884), *to introduce some necessary corrections, and to add about a fourth of new matter. He has been assisted in this, he need hardly say, by his learned translator, to whom he owes much for having assumed the task of turning into English a work which she herself would have been so well qualified to write. He has been helped too by friends, all of whom he does not mean to name here. But though feeling that in this also his incompleteness will be very apparent, he cannot deprive himself of the pleasure of inscribing on this page with gratitude and affection the names of Gaston Paris, of the Institute of France; of E. Maunde Thompson, Principal Librarian of the British Museum; of F. J. Furnivall, Director of the Chaucer and many other Societies; lastly, he ought, perhaps, to have said firstly, of the poet and critic, Edmund Gosse, to whose kind initative and suggestion he owes it that his book is published under its present form.*

J.

Albert Gate,
July 7th.

In this third edition a few corrections have been introduced which have been kindly pointed out by critics.

J.

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He must have himself superintended the painting of the drawings, with the greatest care. There can be no doubt that the figures are actual portraits; of this there are two proofs: first, when the same person appears in several paintings he is always given the same features, and can be easily recognized; second, the exact resemblance of one of the persons can be put beyond a doubt, which makes it likely that the others also resemble their originals. Richard II.,

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the figure of whom constantly recurs in the miniatures, is easily recognizable as having the same features as in the bronze statue over his tomb at Westminster. And we know for certain that this tomb and statue were ordered by Richard himself during his lifetime; the indenture with the seals attached, dated 18 Rich. II. (1395), and binding two apparently English artists, viz., "Nicholas Broker et Godfrey Prest, citeins et copersmythes de Loundres," is still in existence at the Record Office.

The sitting of the parliament here represented is the famous one when Richard was deposed, and Henry of Lancaster came forth to "chalenge yis Rewme of Yngland" ("Rolls of Parliament," iii. p. 422), Oct. 1399, and the throne was then, as seen in the painting, left unoccupied, "sede regali cum pannis auri solempniter preparata, tunc vacua" ("Rolls," ibid.). On the right of the throne are seated the spiritual lords; on the left the temporal lords, knights, &c. The nearest to the throne on this side is Henry of Lancaster (wearing a tall fur cap). Says Créton:

"Entour le dit siége asez près
Estoient les prélas assis . . .
D'autre costé tous les seigneurs
Grans moyens petiz et meneurs . . .
Premiers seoit le duc henry
Et puis tout au plus près de ly
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18.—A young squire travelling:

> "And he hadde ben somtyme in chivachie,
> In Flaundres, in Artoys, and in Picardie,
> And born him wel, as in so litel space,
> In hope to stonden in his lady grace.
> Embrowdid was he, as it were a mede
> Al ful of fresshe floures, white and reede,
> Syngynge he was, or flowtynge, al the day;
> He was as fressh as is the moneth of May."

From the Ellesmere MS. of the "Canterbury Tales." The Ellesmere cuts are used by the kind permission of Dr. Furnivall 103

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was, nevertheless, not neglected, and it consisted in the server's touching the meat only with the *left* hand. Writing later than the time we speak of, John Russell, marshal of the hall to Duke Humphrey of Gloucester (fifteenth century), adds one refinement more, that is to use only three fingers of the left hand. This was, in his mind, the acme of fine carving :

"Sett neuer on fysche nor flesche, beast, nor fowle trewly,
Moore than ij fyngurs and a thombe, for that is curtesie.
Touche neuer with youre right hande no maner mete surely."
"Boke of Nurture" (Furnivall, 1868, p. 137).

It may be seen from our engraving that part of these niceties was unknown yet to carvers in the first half of the fourteenth century. The whole of the left hand is used to grasp the meat 109

22.—

"A cooke thei hadde . . .
To boyle chiknes and the mary bones."

From the miniature in the Ellesmere MS. of the "Canterbury Tales." The pot-hooks with three prongs, which he carries, were the distinctive attribute of cooks and cookmaids, and appear on all representations of such people (several are to be found in the Louterell psalter; see 'Vetusta Monumenta,"

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vol. vi., the Roy. MS. 10 E. IV., *passim*, &c.). They used it to turn the meat and take it out of the deep round-bellied pots, standing on three legs over the fire, which were then in common use... 117

23.—The new habits of luxury; a gentleman, helped by two attendants, dressing before the fire in his bedroom. From the MS. 2 B. vii., in the British Museum, fol. 72 *b* (English; early fourteenth century) 127

Of this luxury, of the spread of the use of chimneys, &c., Langland, as a satirist, complains; and this, as a marshal of the hall, John Russell a little later recommends as the proper method of dressing for a gentleman. He then thus addresses the attendant:

"Than knele down on youre kne, and thus to youre souerayn ye say:
'Syr, what robe or govn pleseth it yow to were today?'" &c.
"Boke of Nurture" (Furnivall, 1868, p. 178).

24.—An English inn of the fourteenth century. From the Louterell psalter 130

25.—On the roadside; the alehouse. From the MS. 10 E. IV., in the British Museum, fol. 114 *b*; (English, fourteenth century) ... 132

26.—A Hermit in his solitude, tempted by the devil; MS. 10 E. IV., fol. 113 *b*. The vignette here reproduced is one out of several which illustrate a well-known mediæval tale.

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Here it may be remarked that though this MS., invaluable as it is for the study of English customs, dresses, &c., during the fourteenth century has been often made use of, it has perhaps never been so thoroughly studied as it deserves. It contains Decretals, with marginal coloured drawings of the highest value on account of their variety and the subjects they illustrate. Not only a number of games and trades are there represented, with numerous miracles of the Virgin, &c., but there are also complete tales told by the draughtsman, without words, and only with the help of his colours. He does not invent his stories, but simply illustrates the *fabliaux* which he remembered and particularly relished. The drawing we give belongs to the story of the "hermit who got drunk." As he was once sitting before his cell he was tempted by the devil, who reproached him with his continual virtue, and entreated him to sin at least once, recommending him to choose either to get drunk or to commit adultery or to commit murder. The hermit chose the first as being the least (see p. 132, a copy of the miniature where he is seen at his drink). But when he has once got drunk he finds on his way the wife of his friend the miller; he commits adultery with her, and then meeting the husband, kills him. The text of the tale is in Méon, "Nouveau recueil de fabliaux," 1829, vol. ii. p. 173.

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From the Ellesmere MS. 177

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10 E. IV., fol. 58. Representations of such dances of women, head downwards, are innumerable in MSS., painted glass, old portals, &c. There is one in the album of Villard de Honnecourt (thirteenth century), ed. Lassus and Darcel; the interest taken in such performances is attested by countless examples... 214

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In motteleye, and high on horse he sat,
Uppon his heed a Flaundrisch bever hat . .

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Ther wiste no man that he was in dette
So estately was he of governaunce."

From the Ellesmere MS. 242

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. . . with worthie wommen."

(Prologue of the "Canterbury Tales"). From the MS. 10 E. IV., fol. 185. Belongs to the same story as No. 45 288

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61.—A blind beggar and his boy. The trick played upon the blind man by his boy is well known as being one of the incidents in the first chapter of the sixteenth-century Spanish novel of "Lazarillo de Tormes." It has long been suspected that the materials for this chapter were drawn by the Spanish author from an earlier tale. This drawing and several others that follow it, which have never been adverted to with reference to

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"Lazarillo de Tormes," put the fact beyond a doubt; they tell in their way the same tale, and they are of the first part of the fourteenth century. They are to be found in the MS. 10 E. IV., in the British Museum, fol. 217 *b*, described above under No. 25 ... 405

English Wayfaring Life in the Middle Ages (Fourteenth Century).

INTRODUCTION

> "*O, dist Spadassin, voici un bon resveux ; mais allons nous cacher au coin de la cheminée et là passons avec les dames nostre vie et nostre temps à enfiler des perles ou à filer comme Sardanapalus. Qui ne s'adventure n'a cheval ni mule, ce dist Salomon.*"
>
> VIE DE GARGANTUA.

AT the present day there are but few wayfarers. The small trades which ply along the road, in every chance village, are disappearing before our newer methods of wholesale manufacture ; more and more rarely do we see the pedlar unstrap his pack at the farm door, the travelling shoemaker mend by the wayside the shoes which on Sunday will re-place the wooden clogs, or hear the wandering musician pipe interminably at the windows his monotonous airs. Professional pilgrims exist no longer, even quack doctors are losing their credit. It was far otherwise in the Middle Ages ; many persons were bound to a

wandering existence, and started even from infancy on their life-long journey. Some trotted their strange industries in the broad sunshine, through the dust of the highroads; others skulked in bye-lanes or even in coppices, hiding their heads from the sheriff's officer—may be a criminal, may be a fugitive, "a wolf's head that every one may cut down," according to the terrible expression of an English jurist of the thirteenth century. Among these were many labourers who had broken the villeins bond, unhappy and oppressed in their hamlets, who wandered through the country in quest of work, as though flight could enfranchise them: but "service est en le sank" ("service is in the blood"),[1] the magistrate told them. Among them also were pedlars laden with petty wares; pilgrims who from St. Thomas' to St. James' went begging along the roads, living by alms; pardoners, strange nomads, who sold to the common people the merits of the saints in paradise; mendicant friars and preachers of all sorts who, according to the times, held passionately liberal harangues or contemptibly selfish discourses at the church doors. All these had one character in common, namely, that in the wide extents of country where they passed their lives, they served as links between the separated groups of other lives which, attached to the soil by law and custom, were spent irremovable, every day under the same sky and at the same toil. Pursuing their singular calling, these wanderers, who had seen so much and knew so many adventures, served to give some idea of the great unknown world to the humble classes whom

[1] "Year Books," 30, 31 Edward I. Edited by A. J. Horwood, for the Rolls Series, 1863.

they met on their way. Together with many false beliefs and fables they put into the heads of the stay-at-homes certain notions of extent and of active life which they would hardly otherwise have had ; above all, they brought to the men attached to the soil news of their brethren in the neighbouring province, of their condition of misery or of happiness, who were pitied or envied accordingly, and were remembered as brothers or friends to call upon in the day of revolt.

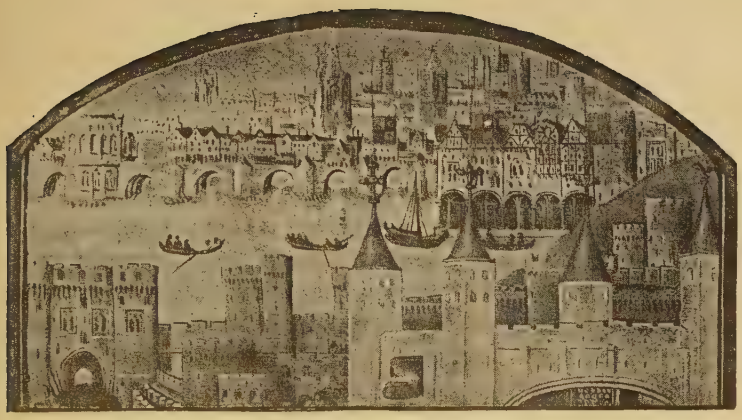
At a period when for the mass of mankind ideas were transmitted orally and travelled with these wanderers along the roads, the nomads served as a true link between the human groups of various districts. It would be therefore of much interest for the historian to know exactly what were these channels of the popular thought, what life was led by those who fulfilled this function, what were their influence and manners. We will study the chief types of this race, and shall choose them in England in the fourteenth century, in a country and at an epoch when their social importance was considerable. The interest which attaches to them is of course manifold ; the personality of these pardoners, professional pilgrims, and minstrels, extinct species, is curious in itself when examined near at hand; above all, the condition of feeling among them and the mode in which they carried on their businesses are closely interwoven with the whole social condition of a great people which had just been formed and was acquiring the features and the character which still distinguish it at the present day. It was the epoch when, thanks to the French wars and the incessant embarrassments of royalty, the subjects of Edward III. and of Richard II.

gained a parliament similar to that which we see in working now; the period when, in religious life, the independence of English spirit asserted itself through the reforms of Wyclif, the statutes for the clergy, and the protestations of the Good Parliament; when, in literature, Chaucer inaugurated the series of England's great poets; when, in short, from noble to villein was felt a stir which led without excessive revolution to that true liberty for which we, the French, have so long envied our neighbours. This period is decisive in the history of the country. It will be seen that in all the great questions debated in the cloister, the castle, or on the market-place, the part played by the wayfarers, though little known, was not insignificant.

We must first examine the locality of the scene, afterwards the events that took place there; we must know what were the roads, then what were the beings who frequented them.

PART I.

ENGLISH ROADS.



OLD LONDON BRIDGE.
(*From MS. Roy.* 16 *F* 2 *in the British Museum.*)

CHAPTER I.

ROADS AND BRIDGES.

THE maintenance of roads and bridges in England was in the fourteenth century one of those general charges which weighed, like military service, on the whole of the nation. All landed proprietors were obliged, in theory, to watch over the good condition of the highways ; their tenants had to execute the repairs for them. The religious houses themselves, owners of property given in *frank almoigne*, that is to say, having an object of pure charity with a perpetual title, had dispensation from every service and rent towards the former proprietor of the soil, and in general they had no other

charge than that of saying prayers or giving alms for the repose of the donor's soul. But yet it remained for them to satisfy the *trinoda necessitas*, or triple obligation, which among other duties consisted in repairing roads and bridges.

There was in England a very considerable network of roads, the principal of which dated as far back as the Roman times. The province of Britain had been one of those where the greatest care had been bestowed upon the military and commercial ways by the Roman emperors. "The network of roads in the island," says Mommsen, "which was uncommonly developed, and for which in particular Hadrian did much in connection with the building of his wall, was of course primarily subservient to military ends; but alongside of, and in part taking precedence over the legionary camps, Londinium occupies in that respect a place which brings clearly into view its leading position in traffic."[1] In many places are yet to be found remnants of the Roman highways, the more important of which were called in Anglo-Saxon times and since, Watling Street, Ermine Street, the Fosse, and Ickenild Street. "These Roman ways in Britain have frequently been continued as the publick roads, so that where a Roman military way is wanting, the presumption is in favour of the present highroad, if that be nearly in the same direction."[2] There are two reasons for that permanence: the first is that the roads were built by the Romans to supply needs which have not ceased to be felt; being cut, for instance, from

[1] "History of Rome," translated by W. P. Dickson, London, 1886, book viii. chap. v.

[2] J. Horsley, "Britannia Romana," London, 1732, p. 391.

London to the north through York; towards Cornwall along the sea-coast; towards the Welsh mines, &c.: the second reason is the way in which they were built. "A portion of the Fosse Road which remains at Radstock, about ten miles south-west of Bath, which was opened in February, 1881, showed the following construction:

"1. Pavimentum, or foundation, fine earth, hard beaten in.

"2. Statumen, or bed of the road, composed of large stones, sometimes mixed with mortar.

"3. Ruderatio, or small stones well mixed with mortar.

"4. Nucleus, formed by mixing lime, chalk, pounded brick or tile; or gravel, sand, and lime mixed with clay.

"5. Upon this was laid the surface of the paved road, technically called the *summum dorsum*." [1]

All Roman roads were not built with so much care and in such an enduring fashion; they were, however, all of them substantial enough to resist for centuries, and they remained in use during the Middle Ages. Other roads besides were opened during that epoch to provide for new fortified towns and castles, and to satisfy the needs of great landowners, religious or otherwise.

The keeping of these roads in repair, which was part of the *trinoda necessitas*, was not considered as worldly, but rather as pious and meritorious work before God,

[1] H. M. Scarth, "Roman Britain," S. P. C. K., London, 1883, p. 121.

of the same sort as visiting the sick or caring for the poor ;[1] men saw in them a true charity for certain unfortunate people, namely, travellers. This is why the clergy submitted to them. The pious character of this kind of labour may suffice to prove that the roads were not so safe or in such a good state as has been sometimes maintained.[2] The finest result of the religious spirit in the Middle Ages was to produce that disinterested enthusiasm which, as soon as some distress of humanity became flagrant, immediately created societies for help and rendered self-denial popular. For example, one of these distresses was seen in the power of the infidel, and the Crusades were the consequence. The forsaken condition of the lowest classes in the towns was noticed in the thirteenth century, and St. Francis sent for the consolation of the neglected those mendicant friars who were at first so justly popular, though their repute changed so quickly. After the same fashion travellers were considered as unfortunates deserving pity, and help was given to them to please God. A religious order with this end in view had been founded in the twelfth century, that of the *Pontife* brothers, or makers of bridges (*pons*, bridge), which

[1] When Henry VIII. gave the lands of the dissolved monastery of Christ Church to Canterbury Cathedral, he declared that he made this donation "in order that charity to the poor, the reparation of roads and bridges, and other pious offices of all kinds should multiply and spread afar" (Elton, "Tenures of Kent," London, 1867, p. 21). The gift is made "in liberam, puram et perpetuam eleemosynam."

[2] Thorold Rogers, "History of Agriculture and Prices in England," Oxford, 1866, vol. i. p. 138.

THE OLD BRIDGE AT AVIGNON.
(*Twelfth Century; present state.*)

p. 39.

spread into several countries of the Continent.[1] In France, over the Rhône, they built the celebrated bridge of Avignon, which yet preserves four arches of their construction; and the one at Pont St. Esprit, which is still in use. In order to break the force of such a current as that of the Rhône they built, closely together, piers of an oblong section, which ended in a sharp angle at each of the two extremities of the axis, and their masonry was so solid that in many places the waters have respected it to the present day, that is, for seven centuries. They had besides establishments on the shores of streams, and helped to cross them by boat. Laymen learnt the secrets of their art and in the thirteenth century began to take their place; bridges multiplied in France, many of which still exist; such, for example, as the fine bridge of Cahors yet intact, where even the machicolated turrets which formerly served to defend it are still preserved.

There is no trace in England of establishments founded by the Bridge Friars, but it is certain that there, as elsewhere, the works for constructing bridges and highways had a pious character. To encourage the faithful to take part in them, Richard de Kellawe, Bishop of Durham (1311–1316), remitted part of the penalties on their sins. The registry of his episcopal chancery contains frequent entries such as the following: "Memorandum . . . his lordship grants forty days indulgence to all who will draw from the treasure that God has given them valuable and charitable aid towards

[1] See "Recherches historiques sur les congrégations hospitalières des frères pontifes," by M. Grégoire, late Bishop of Blois. Paris, 1818.

the building and repair of Botyton bridge." Forty days are allowed on another occasion for help towards the bridge and the highroad between Billingham and Norton,[1] and forty days for the great road from Brotherton to Ferrybridge. The wording of this last decree is characteristic:

"To all those, &c. Persuaded that the minds of the faithful are more ready to attach themselves to *pious works* when they have received the salutary encouragement of fuller indulgences, trusting in the mercy of God Almighty and the merits and prayers of the glorious Virgin his Mother, of St. Peter, St. Paul, and of the most holy confessor Cuthbert our patron, and all saints, we remit forty days of the penances imposed on all our parishioners and others . . . sincerely contrite and confessed of their sins, who shall help by their charitable gifts, *or by their bodily labour*, in the building or in the maintenance of the causeway between Brotherton and Ferrybridge where *a great many people pass by*."[2]

There were also gilds, those lay brotherhoods animated by the religious spirit, who repaired roads and bridges. The Gild of the Holy Cross in Birmingham, founded under Richard II., did this, and their intervention was most valuable, as the Commissioners of Edward VI. remarked two centuries later. The gild then "mainteigned . . . and kept in good reparaciouns two greate stone bridges, and divers foule and daungerous high wayes, the charge whereof the towne of

[1] "Registrum Palatinum Dunelmense," ed. Hardy, Rolls Series, 1875, vol. i. pp. 615, 641 (A.D. 1314).

[2] Ibid., vol. i. p. 507.

THE CALENDRE BRIDGE AT CAHORS.
(*Thirteenth Century; present state.*)

[*p.* 43.

hitsellfe ys not hable to mainteign. So that the lacke thereof wilbe a greate noysaunce to the kinges ma^ties subiectes passing to and from the marches of Wales and an vtter ruyne to the same towne, being one of the fayrest and most proffittuble townes to the kinges highnesse in all the shyre."[1]

Whether Queen Mathilda (twelfth century) got wetted or not, as is supposed, on passing the ford of the river at Stratford-atte-Bow—that same village where afterwards the French was spoken which amused Chaucer—it is certain that she thought she did a meritorious work in constructing two bridges there.[2] Several times repaired, Bow Bridge was still standing in 1839. The queen endowed her foundation, granting land and a water-mill to the Abbess of Barking with a perpetual charge thereon for the maintenance of the bridge and the neighbouring roadway. When the queen died, an abbey for men was founded at the same Stratford close to the bridges, and the abbess hastened to transfer to the new monastery the property in the mill and the charge of the reparations. The abbot did them at first, then he wearied of it, and ended by delegating the looking after them to one Godfrey Pratt. He had built this man a house on the causeway beside the bridge, and made him an annual grant. For a long time Pratt carried out the contract, "getting assistance," says an inquiry of Edward I.,

[1] Certificates of Chantries, quoted in "English Gilds, the Original Ordinances from MSS. of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries," ed. by Toulmin Smith. E. T. T. S., 1870, p. 249. Gilds in Rochester, Bristol, Ludlow, &c., did the same.

[2] "Archæologia," vols. xxvii. p. 77; xxix. p. 380.

"from some passers-by, but without often having recourse to their aid." He also received the charity of travellers, and his affairs prospered. They prospered so well that the abbot thought he might withdraw his pension; Pratt indemnified himself the best way he could. He set up iron bars across the bridge and made all pay who passed over, except the rich, for he prudently made exception "for the nobility; he feared them and let them pass without molesting them." The dispute only terminated in the time of Edward II.; the abbot recognized his fault; took back the charge of the bridge, and put down the iron bars, the toll, and Godfrey Pratt himself.

BOW BRIDGE AS IT STOOD BEFORE ITS DEMOLITION IN 1839.
(*From a print dated* 1831.)

This bridge, over which no doubt Chaucer himself passed, was of stone, the arches were narrow and the piers thick; strong angular buttresses supported them and broke the force of the current; these formed at the upper part a triangle or siding which served as a refuge for foot-passengers, for the passage was so narrow that a carriage sufficed to fill the way. When it was pulled down in 1839, it was found that the method of construction had been very simple. To ground the piers in the bed of the river the masons had simply thrown down stones and mortar till the level of the water had been reached. It was remarked

also that the ill-will of Pratt or the abbot or of their successors must have rendered the bridge almost as dangerous at certain moments as the primitive ford. The wheels of the vehicles had hollowed such deep ruts in the stone and the horses' shoes had so worn the pavement that an arch had been at one time pierced through.

No less striking as a case where pious motives caused the making of a bridge is the contract of the thirteenth century, by which Reginald de Rosels allowed Peter, Abbot of Whitby, to build a permanent bridge on the river Esk, between his own and the convent's lands. He pledges himself in that act to permit to all comers free access to the bridge through his own property. "For which concession the aforesaid Abbot and convent have absolved in chapter all the ancestors of the same Reginald of all fault and transgression they may have committed against the church of Whiteby and have made them participant of all the good works, alms, and prayers of the church of Whiteby."[1] Numerous other examples of the same sort might be quoted ; but it will be enough to add, as being perhaps more characteristic of the times than all the rest, the recommendations which Truth in the "Vision concerning Piers the Plowman" makes to the wealthy English merchants, the number of whom had so largely increased during the fourteenth century. Truth bids them to do several works of charity, which he considers of the highest importance for their salvation ;

[1] "Cartularium Abbathiæ de Whiteby," edited by J. C. Atkinson, Durham, Surtees Society, 1881, vol. ii. p. 401. The original of the Rosels contract is in Latin.

they ought, among other things, to "amenden meson-dieux," that is, hospitals for sick people and for travellers; to repair "wikked wayes," that is to say, bad roads; and also

> ". . . . brygges to-broke by the heye weyes
> Amende in som manere wise."

For this and for helping prisoners, poor scholars, etc., they will have no little recompense. When they are about to die St. Michael himself will be sent to them to drive away devils that they be not tormented by wicked spirits in their last moments:

> "And ich shal sende yow my-selue seynt Michel myn Angel
> That no deuel shal yow dere ne despeir in youre deyinge,
> And sende youre soules ther ich my-self dwelle."[1]

The pious character of the bridges was also shown by the chapel that stood on them. Bow Bridge was thus placed under the protection of St. Catherine. London Bridge had also a chapel dedicated to St. Thomas of Canterbury. It was a roomy Gothic building of apsidal form, with high windows and wrought pinnacles, almost a church. A miniature in a manuscript, of which a reproduction on a reduced scale is given at the beginning of this chapter, shows it fixed on the middle pier, whilst along the parapet are houses with pointed roofs, whose storeys project and hang over the Thames.

This was a famous bridge. No Englishman of the Middle Ages, and even of the Renaissance, ever spoke but with pride of London Bridge; it was the great national wonder; until the middle of the eighteenth

[1] Skeat's edition, Text C, pas. x. l. 29, *et seq.*

century it remained the only bridge of the capital. It had been commenced in 1176, on the site of an old wooden structure, by Peter Colechurch, "priest and chaplain," who had already once repaired the wooden bridge. All the nation were excited about this great and useful enterprise; the king, the citizens of London, the dwellers in the shires endowed the building with lands and sent money to hasten its completion. The list of donors was still to be seen in the sixteenth century, "in a table fair written for posterity"[1] in the chapel on the bridge. A little while before his death in 1205, another had taken the place of Peter Colechurch, then very old, as director of the works. King John, who was in France, struck with the beauty of the bridges of that country, particularly by the magnificent bridge of Saintes which lasted till the middle of our century, and which was approached by a Roman triumphal arch, chose, to superintend the works in the room of Colechurch, a Frenchman, called Isembert, "master of the Saintes schools" (1201). Isembert, who had given proof of his powers in the bridges of La Rochelle and of Saintes, set out with his assistants, furnished with a royal patent addressed to the mayor and inhabitants of London. John Lackland therein vaunted the skill of the master, and declared that the revenue arising from the houses that he would build upon the bridge should

[1] Stow's "Survey of London" (Strype's edition, 1720) bk. i. pp. 53–57. Stow, who examined the accounts of the bridge wardens for the year 1506 (22 Hen. VII.), found that the bridge expenses were at that time £815 17s. 2d. The present bridge dates from our century; it was opened to circulation in 1831; the expense of its erection amounted to £1,458,311.

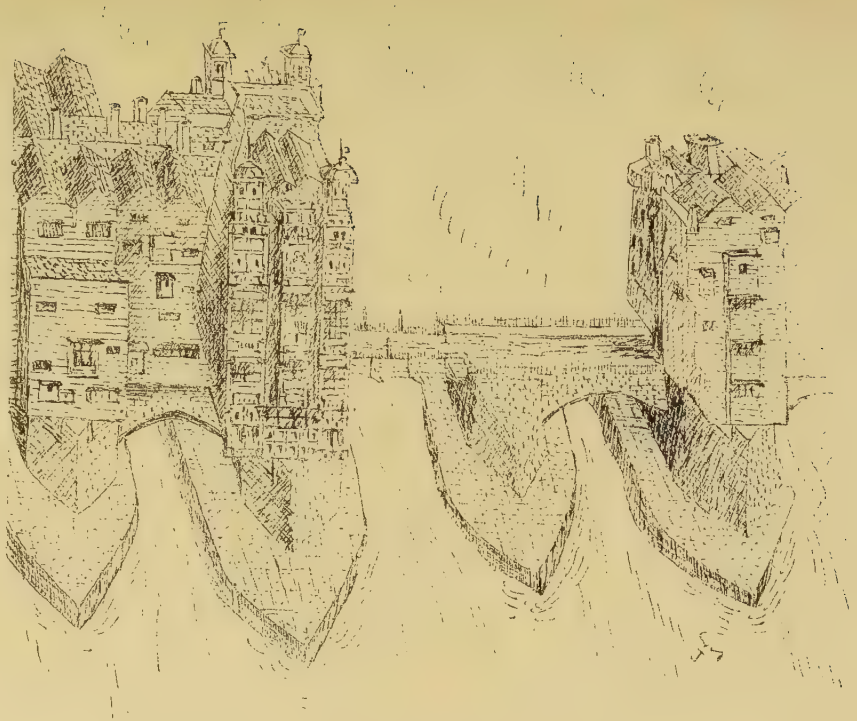
be consecrated to the maintenance of the edifice for ever.[1]

The bridge was finished in 1209. It was furnished with houses, with a chapel, and with defensive towers. It immediately became celebrated, and was the admiration of all England. The Scotchman, Sir David Lindesay, Earl of Crawfurd, having fallen out with Lord Welles, ambassador at the Scottish Court, a duel was decided on, and Lindesay chose London Bridge as the place of combat (1390). He crossed the length of the kingdom, furnished with a safe-conduct from King Richard II., and the duel solemnly came off at the place fixed in the presence of an immense concourse. The first shock was so violent that the lances were shivered, but the Scotchman remained immovable in his saddle. The people, fearing for the success of the Englishman, called out that the foreigner was fixed to his horse against all rules. Upon understanding this Lindesay, by way of reply, leapt lightly to the ground, with one bound returned to the saddle and, charging his adversary anew, overthrew and grievously wounded him.[2]

The houses built on the bridge were of several storeys; they had cellars in the thickness of the piers. When the inhabitants needed water they lowered their buckets by ropes out of the windows and filled them in the Thames. Sometimes by this means they helped poor fellows whose boat had capsized. The arches were narrow, and it was not uncommon in the dark for a boat to strike against the piers and be dashed to pieces.

[1] See Appendix I.

[2] Stow's "Survey," p. 56; "Chronicles of London Bridge," by an Antiquary [Richard Thomson], London, 1827, pp. 187–193.



PART OF LONDON BRIDGE WITH THE DRAWBRIDGE AND NONE-SUCH HOUSE. [*p.* 51.

(*As it stood about* A.D. 1600.)

The Duke of Norfolk and several others were saved in this manner in 1428, but some of their companions were drowned. At other times the inhabitants themselves had need of help, for it happened occasionally that the houses, badly repaired, hung forward and fell in one block into the river. A catastrophe of this kind took place in 1481.

One of the twenty arches of the bridge, the thirteenth from the City side, formed a drawbridge to let boats pass [1] and also to close the approach to the town; this was the obstacle which in 1553 hindered the insurgents led by Sir Thomas Wyatt from entering London. Beside the movable arch rose a tower on the summit of which the executioner long placed the heads of decapitated criminals. That of the Lord Chancellor, Sir Thomas More, bled for a time on the end of a pike on this tower before it was redeemed by Margaret Roper, the daughter of the condemned man. In 1576, this building of sombre memories was splendidly reconstructed, and some very fine rooms were made in it. The new tower was entirely of wood, carved and gilt, in the "paper worke" style in fashion in Elizabeth's time, blamed by the wise Harrison. It was called "None-such House." The heads of the condemned were no more to soil a building so cheerful in aspect; they were placed on the next tower on the Southwark side. Four years after this change, the fashionable Lyly the Euphuist, careful to flatter the vanity of his compatriots, ended one of his books with a pompous praise of England, its products, its universities, its capital; he

[1] As to the toll collected there from certain foreign merchants A.D. 1334, see "Liber Albus" (ed. Riley, Introduction, p. l.).

added : "Among all the straunge and beautiful showes, mee thinketh there is none so notable as the Bridge which crosseth the Theames, which is in manner of a continuall streete, well replenyshed with large and stately houses on both sides, and situate upon twentie arches, whereof each one is made of excellent free stone squared, euerye one of them being three-score foote in height, and full twentie in distaunce one from an other."[1]

This was an exceptional bridge, others presented a less important appearance. People were even glad to find bridges like that at Stratford-at-Bow, in spite of its want of width and its deep ruts ; or like the wooden bridge over the Dyke, with arches so low and narrow that all water traffic was interrupted by a slight rising of the level of the water. The state of this last bridge, which, in truth, was more of a hindrance than a help to communication, at length excited the indignation of neighbouring counties. During the fifteenth century, therefore, it was granted to the inhabitants upon their

[1] "Euphues and his England," ed. princ. 1580 ; Arber's reprint, 1868, p. 434. See also the large coloured drawing of about the year 1600 (partly reproduced above, p. 51), in the third part of Harrison's "Description of England," edited by F. J. Furnivall for the New Shakspere Society, 1877 ; and Mr. Wheatley's notes on Norden's Map of London, 1593, in vol. i. p. lxxxix of the same work. Foreigners coming to London never failed to notice the bridge as one of the curiosities of the town. The Greek Nicander Nucius of Corcyra, who visited England in 1545–6, writes in his note-book : "A certain very large bridge is built, affording a passage to those in the city to the opposite inhabited bank, supported by stone cemented arches, and having also houses and turrets upon it" ("Travels of Nicander Nucius," Camden Society, 1841, p. 7).

HUGH OF CLOPTON'S BRIDGE AT STRATFORD-ON-AVON. [*p.* 56.

(*Fifteenth Century.*)

pressing request, that they might reconstruct the bridge, with a movable arch for boats.[1]

In the same way disappeared, also in the fifteenth century, a bridge described by Leland in his "Itinerary" as having been a "poore bridge of tymber and no causey to come to it," which crossed the Avon at Stratford. It was in such a state that "many poore folkes and other refused to come to Stratford when Avon was up, or comminge thither stood in jeopardye of lyfe." The rich Sir Hugh of Clopton, sometime mayor of London, who had been born at Clopton near Stratford, and who died in 1497, moved by the danger of his compatriots, built "the great and sumptuous bridge upon Avon at the east ende of the towne, which hath fourteen great arches of stone, and a long causey made of stone, lowe walled on each syde, at the west ende of the bridge." This same bridge is still in use, and quite deserves the praise bestowed upon it by Leland. But fine as it is, one would have less regretted its disappearance than the destruction of a certain "praty house of bricke and tymbre,"[2] built by the same Hugh of Clopton with the purpose of ending his days in it. That house was purchased afterwards—also with the intent of ending his life in it—by a certain countryman of Hugh, who has since become famous enough. This was William Shakespeare, who repaired the house, then called New Place, and died in it in the year 1616.

The calling in of the foreign priest Isembert to

[1] See Appendix II.

[2] "The Itinerary of John Leland," edited by Tho. Hearne Oxford, 1745, vol. iv. pp. 66, 67

superintend the works of London Bridge seems to have been an exceptional fact. The making of ordinary bridges was usually entrusted to local artists or masons; and it would have been strange indeed if the people who could build such splendid cathedral naves all over England had been at a loss to span rivers with bridges. One of the few indentures for the making of a bridge which have come down to us concerns the re-building of Catterick bridge, Yorkshire, in 1422, on the great Roman road, the Ermine Street; this document is curious in many respects. The contract binds several authorities on the one hand, and "Tho. Ampilforde, John Garette, and Robert Maunselle, masons," on the other. It is stated in it "yat y^e^ foresaides Tho., John, and Rob., schalle make a brigge of stane oure (over) y^e^ water of Swalle atte Catrik be twix y^e^ old stane brigge and y^e^ new brigge of tree (of wood), quilke forsaid brigge, with y^e^ grace of God, salle be made sufficiant [and war]kmanly in mason craft accordand in substance to Barnacastelle brigge, aftir y^e^ ground and y^e^ watyr accordes, of twa pilers, twa land stathes (abutments), and thre arches." The deed goes on to give a very minute account of the way in which every part of the work will have to be performed, of the material that will be used, and of the time when the bridge must be entirely finished and open to circulation: "And y^e^ saides John, Tho., and Rob., schalle this forsaid brigge sufficiantly in masoncraft make and fully perfurnist in all partiez and holy endyd be y^e^ Fest of Seint Michille y^e^ Arcangelle quilk y^t^ shalle fall in y^e^ yere of our Lorde Gode M^le^ cccexxv." It is understood besides that they will receive in payment, at certain

fixed dates, "gounes," and also sums of money, the total of which will be 260 marks sterling.[1]

The bridge built by the three masons, John, Thomas, and Robert, is still in existence, but it has undergone great and many alterations.

We have already seen some examples of the means employed at this period to secure the maintenance of these valuable constructions, when that maintenance was ensured by something more than the charges incident to the ownership of the neighbouring lands (*trinoda necessitas*); we know that it was sometimes provided under favour of "indulgences" promised to benefactors, sometimes by the intervention of gilds, sometimes also by the endowments with which a great lord would enrich the bridge which he had founded. But there were several methods besides which were employed with success, even with profit; such as regular receipts under that right of toll which Godfrey Pratt had arbitrarily imposed on his fellow citizens, or the collection of pious offerings made at the chapel of the bridge and to its warden. The right of toll was called *brudtholl* (bridge-toll) or *pontagium;* the grantee, or person to whom the tax was granted, bound himself in return to make all the necessary repairs. Sometimes the King accorded the right as a favour during a certain period. We have an example in the following petition, which is of the time of Edward I. or Edward II.:

"To our lord the king prays his vassal William of

[1] "The North Riding Record Society," edited by the Rev. J. C. Atkinson, London, vol. iii. part i. p. 33.

Latymer, lord of Yarm,[1] that he will grant him pontage for five years at the bridge of Yarm, which is broken down, where men were wont to pass with carts and with horses on the king's highway between the water of Tees towards Scotland. May it please him to do this for the soul of Madame his consort, who is to God commended, and for the common profit of the people who pass." The King's reply was favourable: "The King grants the pontage for the term."[2]

Some of the tariffs in force at certain bridges during the fourteenth century have come down to us and have been printed; the most detailed of these is of the year 1306, and concerns London Bridge. It is annexed to a patent of Edward I., and enumerates not only passengers, carriages, and animals of every quality or description, but also every sort of "saleable" ware which may pass either on or below the bridge: though it may have been considered somewhat unfair to draw money from shipmen towards the expenses of a structure that was no help to them, but rather the reverse.[3] This list, which is a great help towards forming an exact idea

[1] Yarm on the Tees, 44 miles north-north-west of York. The "king's highway" in question is the highroad from Scotland, which leads to the south passing through York and London. The bridge was re-built in 1400 by Skirlaw, Bishop of Durham.

[2] "Rolls of Parliament," vol. i. p. 468. The right of pontage is frequently mentioned in the "Liber Custumarum," edited by Riley (Rolls Series).

[3] "Concessimus quod capiatis ibidem de rebus venalibus ultra pontem predictum et subtus eundem transeuntibus consuetudines subscriptas, videlicet . . ." Then follows a very long list of dues. The text of this letter-patent may be found in an appendix to Hearne's "Liber niger Scaccarii," ed. 1771, vol i. p. 478*.

of the commodities brought to London by land or by river, covers no less than four pages of printed matter : including coals, timber, wines, beer, horses, sheep, butter and cheese, fish, millstones, silk and other cloths, and sometimes the place they come from is given : Flanders, Normandy, &c.

Another very curious petition (1334) will show the application of the other mode, that is, the collection of voluntary offerings from the charity of passers-by ; the share of the clergy in the care of these buildings, as well as the greediness with which the profitable right of collecting the gifts was disputed, and the embezzlements of which they were sometimes the object, are to be noticed :

"To our lord the king and his Council showeth their poor chaplain, Robert le Fenere, parson of the church of St. Clement, of Huntingdon, of the diocese of Lincoln, that there is a little chapel lately built in his parish on the bridge of Huntingdon, the keeping of which chapel our lord the king has granted and delivered during pleasure to one Sir Adam, Warden of the house of St. John of Huntingdon, who receives and takes away all manner of offerings and alms without doing anything for the repair of the bridge or of the said chapel as he is bound to do. On the other hand, it seems hurtful to God and Holy Church that offerings should be appropriated to any one except to the parson within whose parish the chapel is founded. Wherefore the said Robert prays, for God and Holy Church and for the souls of our lord the king's father and his

ancestors, that he may have the keeping of the said chapel annexed to his church, together with the charge of the bridge, and he will take heed with all care to maintain them well, with better will than any stranger, for the profit and honour of Holy Church, to please God and all people passing that way." [1]

This jumble of human and divine interests was submitted to the ordinary examination, and the demand was set aside, with the following note : "Non est peticio parliamenti" ; it is not a petition for parliament.

In many cases, the bridge was itself at once proprietor of real estate and beneficiary of the offerings made to its chapel, and sometimes also grantee of a right of toll ; it had income from both civil and religious sources. Such were notably the bridges of London, of Rochester,[2] of Bedford, and many others. John de Bodenho, chaplain, explains to Parliament that the inhabitants of Bedford hold their own town at farm from the king, and have undertaken to maintain their bridge. For this they "assigned certain tenements and rents in the said town to support it, and with their alms have newly built an oratory on the side of the water belonging to Lord Mowbray, by leave of the lord, adjoining the said bridge." The burgesses gave to the plaintiff the charge of the reparations, together with the whole revenues. But the priest, John of Derby, represented to the king that it was a royal chapel which he might dispose of, and the king has given it to him, which is very unjust, since the chapel is not the king's ; even those who founded it are still living. All these

[1] "Rolls of Parliament," vol. ii. p. 88.

[2] See Hist. MSS. Commission, 9th Report, part i. p. 284.

reasons were found good ; the judges were enjoined to do justice to the plaintiff, and were reprimanded for not having done it sooner, as had already been prescribed to them.[1]

Enriched by so many offerings, protected by the *trinoda necessitas* and by the common interest of the landed proprietors, these bridges should have been continually repaired, and have remained sound. But it was nothing of the sort, and the distance between legal theory and practice was great. When the taxes were regularly collected and honestly applied, they usually sufficed to support the building ; even the right of collecting them, being in itself profitable, was, as has been seen, strongly contested for ; but the example of Godfrey Pratt and of some others has already shown that all the wardens were not honest. Many, even in the highest positions, imitated Godfrey. London Bridge itself, so rich, so useful, so admired, had constantly need of reparation, and this was never done until danger was imminent, or even till catastrophe happened. Henry III. granted the farm of the bridge revenues "to his beloved wife," who neglected to maintain it, and appropriated to herself without scruple the rents of the building ; none the less did the king renew his patent at the expiration of the term, that the queen might benefit "from a richer favour." The result of these favours was not long to wait ; it was soon found that the bridge was in ruins, and to restore it the ordinary resources were not enough ; it was necessary to send collectors throughout the country to gather offerings from those willing to give. Edward I. begged his

[1] "Rolls of Parliament," vol. ii. p. 100 (A.D. 1338).

subjects to hasten (January, 1281), the bridge would give way if they did not send prompt assistance. He ordered the archbishops, bishops, all the clergy, to allow his collectors to address the people freely with "pious exhortations" that the subsidies should be given without delay. But the supplies thus urgently required arrived too late; the catastrophe had already happened, a "sudden ruin" befel the bridge, and to repair this misfortune the king established a special tax upon the passengers, merchandise and boats (February 4, 1282), which tax was enacted again and a new tariff put into force on May 7, 1306, as we have already seen. What this sudden ruin was we learn from Stow's "Annals"; the winter had been very severe, the frost and snow had caused great cracks in the floor of the bridge, so that towards the Feast of the Purification (February 2), five of the arches fell in. Many other bridges, too, in the country had suffered damage, Rochester Bridge had even entirely fallen.[1]

It may be imagined what would happen to some of the country bridges which had been built without the thought of endowing them. The alms that were given for them proved insufficient, so that little by little, nobody repairing them, the arches wore through, the parapets were detached, not a cart passed but fresh stones disappeared in the river, and soon carriages and

[1] "King Edward kept his feast of Christmas (1281) at Worcester. From this Christmas till the purification of Our Lady, there was such a frost and snow, as no man living could remember the like, wherethrough five arches of London Bridge, and all Rochester Bridge were borne downe, and carried away with the streame, and the like hapned to many bridges in England" (Stow's "Annales," London, 1631, p. 201). See Appendix III.

riders could not venture without much danger over the half-demolished building. If with all this a flood should supervene, all was over with the bridge and with the imprudent or hurried persons who might be crossing late in the evening. An accident of this kind was brought up in his defence by a chamberlain of North Wales, from whom Edward III. claimed a hundred marks. The chamberlain averred that he had sent the money carefully by his clerk, William of Markeley; alas, "the said William was drowned in Severn, at Moneford bridge, by the rising flood of water, and could not be found, so that he was devoured by beasts; thus the said hundred marks chanced to be lost."[1] At that time there were still wolves in England, and the disappearance of the body, with the 100 marks, through the action of wild beasts, would appear less unlikely than at present.

In those days neglect attained lengths now impossible and unknown to us. The Commons of the counties of Nottingham, Derby, and Lincoln, and of the town of Nottingham, declare to the Good Parliament (1376), that there is near the town of Nottingham a great bridge over the Trent, called Heybethebridge, "to the making and repair of which nobody is bound and alms only are collected, by which bridge all the comers and goers between the north and the south parts should have their passage." This bridge is "ruinous," and "oftentimes have several persons been drowned, as well horsemen as carts, man, and harness." The complainants pray for power to appoint two bridge wardens, who shall administer the property that will

[1] "Rolls of Parliament," vol. ii. p. 91 (9 Edward III.), 1335.

be given for its maintenance, "for God and as a work of charity." But the king did not accede to their request.[1]

Or maybe it happened that the riverside proprietors let their obligation fall into oblivion, even when it was at commencement formal and precise enough. The legislator had, however, taken some precautions; he had inscribed bridges on the list of the subjects for those inquiries opened periodically in England by the justices in Eyre, sheriffs and bailiffs, as we shall see further on; but interested men found means to defraud the law. People had been so long used to see ruin menace the edifice, that when it actually did give way no one could say who ought to have repaired it. It then became necessary to apply to the king for a special inquiry, and to seek on whom lay the service. The parliament thus decide in 1339, on the demand of the prior of St. Neots: "*Item*, let there be good and true men assigned to survey the bridge and causeway of St. Neots, whether they be broken down and carried away by the rising of the waters, as the prior alleges, or not. And in case they are broken down and carried away, to inquire who ought and was used to have it repaired, and who is bound of right to do it; and how the bridge and roadway may be re-made and repaired. And what they[2] find they shall return into the chancery."

In consequence of such inquests the persons charged with the maintenance find themselves pointed out by the declarations of a jury convened on the spot, and a tax is levied upon them for the execution of the repara-

[1] "Rolls of Parliament," vol. ii. p. 350.

[2] *I.e.*, the jury "of good and true men." "Rolls of Parliament," vol. ii. p. 111.

tions. But very often the debtors protest and refuse to pay; they are sued, they appeal to the king; horse, cart, anything that may come to hand and belongs to them is seized to be sold for the benefit of the bridge; the dispute lengthens out, and meanwhile the edifice gives way. Hamo de Morston, for example, in the eleventh year of Edward II., complains that his horse has been taken. Cited to justify themselves, Simon Porter and two others who have made the capture explain that there is a bridge at Shoreham, called the Long bridge, which is half destroyed; now it has been found that the building ought to be restored at the expense of the tenants of the Archbishop of Canterbury. Hamo having refused to pay his part of the contribution, Simon and the others took his horse. They acted by order of a bailiff, and their conduct is vindicated. After another inquest of the same period, the Abbot of Coggeshall refused to execute any repairs to a bridge near his lands under pretext that within memory of man there had been no other bridge over the river "than a certain plank of board," and that at all times it had been found sufficient for horsemen and pedestrians (1 Edward II.). Innumerable are the examples of inquests of this sort and of the difficulties in executing the measures decided on.[1]

Owing to these several causes the chronicle of even the most important of English bridges, when it is possible to trace it out, is a long tale of falls into the river, rebuildings, and repairs, and ever-recurring catastrophes. Sometimes when the damage was great, and much money was wanted and did not happen to be

[1] Several instances will be found cited in Appendix IV.

forthcoming, a ferry was established as a substitute for the late bridge, and there remained for years and years together. Such a series of events is offered by the history of the bridge on the Tweed at Berwick, which was one of the longest in England. The first time we hear of it is in the year 1199, and the news is that it fell at that date, owing to the rising of the river. It was rebuilt and fell again; sometimes it was rebuilt in wood and sometimes in stone; at times it fell altogether from beginning to end, and then a ferry was established, and there remains for many years. This was the case in 1294, when great harm was done by the inundations. "Where the bridge fell at this time," says the latest historian of Berwick, "there it lay for many years. The only method of crossing was by ferry boats, worked from both sides of the river; while the ferry in times of danger was defended by soldiers. Thus, in Sir Robert Heron's (the controller) 'Book of Bills' for 1310, there is allowed one half quarter of pease to each of six crossbowmen (one of them being John Sharp Arewe) guarding the ferry of the Tweed at Berwick."[1] The ferry follows vicissitudes scarcely less numerous than the bridge itself, and disputes arise as to the right of working it, or rather of collecting the tolls there. The revenues of the bridge, now that there is no longer any bridge, are also a matter of difficulty, and the king has to interfere to settle the matter of the rents of houses and of fisheries belonging to the ruined monument. In 1347 at last the citizens of the town began to think seriously of rebuilding their bridge, and the king granted them the right of collecting towards the

[1] John Scott, "Berwick-upon-Tweed," London, 1888, p. 408, *et seq.*

expenses a toll of sixpence on every ship entering their harbour. The bridge was then rebuilt, but not in such a way as not to fall again, which has happened to it many times since. Not less doleful is the story of the bridge on the Dee at Chester, of which we hear in the chronicles for the first time in 1227 and 1297, on account of its being carried away by the water,[1] and the same may be said of many of the bridges of mediæval England, especially of longer ones such as the two just named.

When rebuilding had to take place people generally did not care to remove what remained of the old monument, and, for this reason, when a bridge has been broken down in our time, it has been often found that it was made of an accumulation of superimposed bridges. Such was the case with the bridge over the Teign, between Newton Abbot and Teignmouth, rebuilt in 1815. It became, on that occasion, apparent that four successive bridges at least had been at various times erected with or over the remains of previous constructions. Mr. P. T. Taylor, who investigated the matter at that time, gave as his opinion "that the last or upper work was done in the sixteenth century, and that the red bridge had been built on the salt marsh in the thirteenth century; since which time there has been an accumulation of soil to the depth of ten feet. He supposes the wooden bridge to be as old as the Conquest, and the white stone bridge to have been a Roman work."[2]

Given these circumstances, it is rather a matter of surprise than otherwise to find that a good number of

[1] Ormerod, "History of Chester," 1819, vol. i. p. 285.
[2] "Archæologia," t. xix. p. 310.

mediæval bridges still subsist in England; the more so as this our century has been a great destroyer of bridges. The enormous increase of population and the proportionate want of means of communication during the last hundred years has proved fatal to many bridges, and especially to the more famous and important ones which had been built in the more largely populated districts. Owing to such necessities London Bridge itself has disappeared, and the recollections of five hundred years, during which it had been, so to say, a factor in English history and associated with the life of the nation, could not save it. The tide of an ever-increasing traffic was at last too strong for the masterpiece of Isembert. Many others had the same fate, or at least were partly rebuilt or enlarged, not always in such a way as to retain their pristine appearance. For all that, however, enough of them remain to give an accurate idea of what they were without having recourse merely to descriptions or drawings in contemporary manuscripts. None, it is true, can for elegance and completeness compete with such bridges as are still to be found in France; for example, with the magnificent thirteenth-century bridge of the *Calendre* at Cahors, of which an engraving has been given above (p. 41). Those that remain are sufficient, nevertheless, to testify to the skill of old English architects in that particular branch of their art. As might have been expected, these old bridges chiefly abound in those parts of the country where the increase of traffic and population has been the least conspicuous, on roads little more frequented to-day than in the Middle Ages, which then led to strong castles or flourishing monasteries,

THE CHAPEL ON THE BRIDGE AT WAKEFIELD. [*p.* 72.

(*Fourteenth Century; present state.*)

and only lead now to ivy-covered ruins. For this reason they are more numerous in some parts of Wales than anywhere in England. Be they in Wales, in Scotland, or in England, taken altogether they still offer examples of almost all the peculiarities with which it was the custom during the Middle Ages to adorn or accompany them.

In several cases the chapels which placed them under the protection of a saint and where offerings were collected, are still extant. There is one, of the fifteenth century,[1] at Rotherham, Yorkshire, "a chapel of stone wel wrought," says Leland; another, a small one, is to be seen on the bridge at Bradford-on-Avon, Wiltshire; a third, a very tall structure, stands on the middle of the bridge at St. Ives, Huntingdonshire; but the finest example by far of such buildings is the chapel on the bridge at Wakefield, both chapel and bridge dating from the fourteenth century. Leland mentions them as "the faire bridge of stone of nine arches, under which runnith the river of Calder, and on the east side of this bridge is a right goodly chapel of our lady and two cantuarie preestes founded in it." This foundation was made about 1358; Edward III., by a charter dated at Wakefield, settled "£10 per annum on William Kaye and William Bull and their successors for ever to perform Divine service in a chapel of St. Mary newly built on the bridge at Wakefield."[2]

[1] The date is shown by a will of the 24th of August, 1483, by which a sum is left towards the making of the chapel to be built on Rotherham Bridge. See J. Guest, "Historic Notices of Rotherham," Worksop, 1879, fol. pp. 125–6. Two views of the bridge and chapel are given, pp. 126 and 581.

[2] Camden's "Britannia," ed. Gough, vol. iii., Lond., 1789, pp. 38–9

In our century the bridge has been widened on its west side; which has caused it to lose its original appearance on this side. The chapel, too, was restored in 1847, but its original perpendicular style was carefully respected.[1]

Several specimens also remain of bridges with the triangular recesses we have mentioned, left on the top of the piers for the safety of foot passengers. Among many other examples may be quoted the fine fourteenth-century bridge at Warkworth, Northumberland,[2] which also deserves notice for another peculiarity much more rarely to be met with, that is, the preservation of the tower built at one end for its defence. Most of the bridges of any importance were protected in this way; of late it has been found useless, and the consideration that they were ornamental has rarely been sufficient to prevent such fortifications being pulled down. Those at Chester were removed in 1782–1784; those at York were demolished (with the bridge itself, of the thirteenth century) at the beginning of our century; the Durham example, built on Framwellgate Bridge, in 1760, &c. It must be conceded that those towers were sometimes very inconvenient. A person who was present on the occasion told me that, quite recently, a gipsy's caravan was stopped at the tower on Warkworth Bridge, being unable, owing to the lowness

[1] T. Kilby, "Views in Wakefield," 1843, fol.; J. C. and C. A. Buckler, "Remarks upon Wayside Chapels," Oxford, 1843.

[2] "Twenty marks were left towards the rebuilding of this bridge, by John Cook of Newcastle-upon-Tyne, 2 Rich. II., 1379," (E. Mackenzie, "View of the County of Northumberland," 1825, vol. ii. p. 111).

THE BRIDGE WITH A DEFENSIVE TOWER AT WARKWORTH, NORTHUMBERLAND. [*A.* 75.

(*Fourteenth Century; present state.*)

of the arch, to go under it. The pavement had to be hollowed out to allow the caravan to proceed on its journey. Rarer even are bridges with houses on them, as was the fashion in the Middle Ages. A solitary house remains on Elvet Bridge at Durham, and the only bridge with a complete row of houses is quite a recent structure, being the familiar Pulteney Bridge built at Bath by William Pulteney in the eighteenth century.

The more numerous of the mediæval bridges still in existence are those of one arch ; there are many of them in Wales, some are most elegant and picturesque ; such is the famous Devil's Bridge over the Mynach, near Aberystwith. In England the largest is the one over the moat of Norwich Castle; and the most curious the three-branched one at Crowland, this last belonging in its actual state to the fourteenth century. It is no longer used, as no road passes over it and no water under. Others are to be met with in several parts of the country, one of the finest being built over the Esk, near Danby Castle, Yorkshire. Its date is about 1385 ; the arms of Neville, Lord Latimer, who had it built are yet to be seen at the top of the bridge, on one of its sides.[1]

Lastly, attention must be drawn to bridges of a larger kind ; most of them have unfortunately undergone great alterations and repairs. Besides the Wakefield Bridge above mentioned, there is one over the Dee, at Chester, part of which is as old as the thirteenth

[1] An engraving of this not sufficiently known bridge is given on the next page. I have been enabled to do so by the kindness of the Rev. J. C. Atkinson, of Danby Parsonage.

century ; it has been thoroughly repaired since Ormerod disrespectfully described it as "a long fabric of red stone extremely dangerous and unsightly."[1] At Durham there are the Framwellgate and the Elvet Bridges, both originally built in the twelfth century. A six-arched bridge, rebuilt in the fifteenth century, exists

THE BRIDGE NEAR DANBY CASTLE, YORKSHIRE.
(*Fourteenth Century.*)

at Hereford ; another, repaired in 1449, with the help of indulgences, remains at Bidford.[2] A four-arched one, built in the fourteenth century, over the Dee is

[1] "History of Chester," London, 1819, vol. i. p. 285.
[2] Dugdale, "Warwickshire," 1730, ii. 724.

to be seen at Llangollen; it is "one of the *Tri Thlws Cymru*, or three beauties of Wales;"[1] the arches are irregular in size, for the architect, in this and in many other cases, minding more the solidity of the structure than its uniformity, built the piers at the places where the presence of rocks in the bed of the river made it most convenient. Other mediæval bridges of several arches remain at Huntingdon, at St. Ives, at Norwich (Bishop's bridge), at Potter Heigham (a most picturesque one),[2] &c. One of the most interesting is the thirteenth-century bridge over the Nith, at Dumfries, in Scotland, which had formerly thirteen arches, seven of which only are now in use. It was long considered the finest after that of London.[3]

The maintenance of the roads much resembled that of the bridges; that is to say, it greatly depended upon arbitrary chance, upon opportunity, or on the goodwill or the devotion of those to whom the adjoining land belonged. In the case of roads, as of bridges, we find petitions of private persons who pray that a tax be

[1] J. G. Wood, "The Principal Rivers of Wales," London, 1813, vol. ii. p. 271.

[2] See F. Stone, "Picturesque Views of the Bridges of Norfolk," Norwich, 1830.

[3] Rough sketches of more than thirty old English bridges may be seen in a curious engraving by Daniel King (seventeenth century) bearing as a title: "An orthographical designe of severall viewes vpon ye road in England and Wales," and as a subscription: "This designe is to illustrate Cambden's Britannia, that where he mentions such places the curious may see them, which is the indeavour, by Gods assistance, of

"Y. S. Daniell King."

(A copy bound in the MS. Harl. 2073, as fol. 126.) Catterick Bridge (*supra* p. 58) is among the bridges there represented.

levied upon those who pass along, towards the repair of the road. "Walter Godelak of Walingford, prays for the establishment of a custom to be collected from every cart of merchandise traversing the road between Jowemersh and Newenham, on account of the depth and for the repair of the said way. *Reply:* The King will do nothing therein."[1] Again, a lady arrogates to herself the right to levy a tax on passengers. "To our lord the king show the commonalty of the people of Nottinghamshire passing between Kelm and Newur, that whereas the king's high way between the said two towns has been wont to be for all persons freely to pass, on horse-back, in carriages, and on foot from time immemorial, the Lady of Egrum has got hold to herself of the said road in severalty, taking from those passing along there grievous ransoms and exactions, in disheritance of the king and his crown and to the great hurt of the people." The king orders an inquest.[2]

Sometimes the sheriffs in their turns ordered the levy of taxes on those who did not repair the roads; the law, as we have seen, allowed it; but those who were fined protested before Parliament under the pretext that the roads and the bridges were "sufficient enough;" —"*Item*, humbly pray the Commons of your realm, as well spiritual as temporal, complaining that several sheriffs of your kingdom feign and procure presentments in their turns that divers roads, bridges, and causeys are defective from non-reparation, with purpose and intent to amerce abbots, priors, and seculars, sometimes up to ten pounds, sometimes more, some-

[1] "Rolls of Parliament," vol. i. p. 48 (18 Edward I., A.D. 1289).
[2] Ibid., vol. i. p. 424 (18 Edward II., 1324).

times less, and levy the said amercements by their officers called out-riders, without delay or any reply of the parties, in places where the said roads, bridges, and causeys are sufficient enough, or perhaps are not in charge of the said amerced men." *Reply:* Let the common law be kept, and the amercements reasonable in this case.[1]

Where negligence began, the ruts, or rather the quags, began. Those numerous little subterranean arches, which the foot-passenger now does not even notice, with the purpose of carrying off brooks dry during a part of the year, did not exist then, and the brook flowed through the road. In the East at the present day, the caravaneers talk in the bazaars of the town about the roads and pathways; we speak of them ourselves on returning home, as books of travel show. In the East, however, a road is often nothing else than a place along which men customarily pass; it little resembles the irreproachable highways the idea of which the word road evokes in European minds. During the rainy season immense pools of water cut off the usual track of the horsemen and camels; they increase by little and little, and at length overflow and form true rivers. At evening the sun sets in the heavens and also in the purpled road; the innumerable pools of the way and of the country reflect the red or violet clouds; the wet horses and the splashed riders shiver in the midst of all these glimmerings, while overhead and at foot the two suns approach one another to rejoin on the horizon. The roads of the Middle Ages sometimes were like

[1] "Rolls of Parliament," vol. iii. p. 598 (7 and 8 Henry IV.).

those of the modern East; the sunsets were magnificent in winter, but to face journeys required a robust horseman, inured to fatigue, and with stubborn health. The ordinary education, it is true, prepared one for all these trials.

The roads in England would have been entirely impassable, and religious zeal would have been no more than the indulgences of the Bishop of Durham sufficient to keep them in condition, if the nobility and the clergy, that is to say, the whole of the landed proprietors, had not had an immediate and daily interest in possessing passable roads. The English kings had had the prudence not to form great compact fiefs like those which they themselves possessed in France, and which caused them to be such dangerous vassals. Their own example had no doubt taught them, and we find them from the beginning distributing to the shareholders in the great enterprise domains scattered in all corners of the island. This kind of chequered proprietorship subsisted to the fourteenth century. Froissart, indeed, remarked it: "And several times," says he, "it happened that when I rode about the country with him, *for the lands and revenues of the English barons are here and there and much scattered*, he called me and said: 'Froissart, do you see that great town with the high steeple?'"[1] The unfortunate Despencer who put this question was not alone in having the lands which he owed to the prince's favour sown at hazard in every county; all the great men of his style were in the same case. The king himself, besides, with all his court, as well as the lords, ceaselessly went from one country house to another, by

[1] Edition by S. Luce, vol. i. p. 257.

choice, and still more by necessity. In time of peace it was an appearance of activity which was not displeasing, but, above all, it was a means of living. All, however rich, were obliged to economize, and, like proprietors in all ages, to live upon their lands by the produce of their domains. They went from place to place, and it was of much importance for them to have passable roads, where their horses would not stumble and where their baggage waggons, which served for true removals, might have a chance of not being overturned. In the same way the monks, those great cultivators, were much interested in the good maintenance of the roads. Their agricultural undertakings were of considerable extent; an abbey such as that of Meaux, near Beverley, had in the middle of the fourteenth century, 2,638 sheep, 515 oxen, and 98 horses, with land in proportion.[1] Besides, as we have seen, the care of watching over the good condition of the roads was more incumbent on the clergy than on any other class, because it was a pious and meritorious work ; and for this reason the religious character of their tenure did not exempt them from the *trinoda necessitas*, common to all the possessors of land.

All these motives combined were enough to provide roads that were considered sufficient for the current needs, but in those days people were contented with little. The carts and even the carriages were heavy, lumbering, but solid machines, which stood the hardest jolts. People of any worth journeyed on horseback. As to those who travelled on foot, they were used to all sorts of misery. Little, then, sufficed ; and if other

[1] "Chronica monasterii de Melsa," edited by E. A. Bond ; Rolls Series, 1868, London, vol. iii. preface, p. xv.

proofs were wanting of the state into which the roads were liable to fall, even in the most frequented places, we should find them in a patent of Edward III. (November 20, 1353), which orders the paving of the highroad, *alta via*, running from Temple Bar (the western limit of London at this period) to Westminster. This road, being almost a street, had been paved, but the king explains that it is "so full of holes and bogs . . . and that the pavement is so damaged and broken" that the traffic has become very dangerous for men and carriages. In consequence, he orders each proprietor on both sides of the road to remake, at his own expense, a footway of seven feet up to the ditch, *usque canellum*. The middle of the road—"inter canellos"—the width of which is unfortunately not given, is to be paved, and the expense covered by means of a tax laid on all the merchandise going to the staple at Westminster.[1]

Three years later a general tax was laid by the City of London on all carts and horses bringing merchandise or materials of any kind to the town. The ordinance which imposed it, of the thirtieth year of Edward III., first states that all the roads in the immediate environs of London are in such bad condition that the carriers, merchants, &c., "are oftentimes in peril of losing what they bring." Henceforward, to help the reparations, a due would be levied on all vehicles and all laden beasts coming to or going from the city; a penny per cart and a farthing per horse, each way; for a cart bringing sand, gravel, or clay, threepence a week must be paid.

[1] Patent Roll, 27 Edward III., in Rymer (ed. 1708), vol. v. p. 774. See as to the repair of this same road in 1314, thirty-nine years earlier, "Rolls of Parliament," vol. i. p. 302*b*.

Exception as usual was made for the carriages and horses employed in the transport of provisions and other objects destined for great men.[1]

The environs of Paris about the same time presented roads and bridges quite as badly kept as those in the neighbourhood of London. Charles VI., in one of his ordinances, states that the hedges and brambles have greatly encroached on the roads, that there are even some in the midst of which trees have shot up.

"Outside the said town of Paris, in several parts of the suburbs, *prévosté* and *vicomté* of the same, there are many notable and ancient highways, bridges, lanes, and roads, which are much injured, damaged, or decayed and otherwise hindered, by ravines of water and great stones, by hedges, brambles, and many other trees which have grown there, and by many other hindrances which have happened there, because they have not been maintained and provided for in time past; and they are in such a bad state that they cannot be securely traversed on foot or horseback, nor by vehicles, without great perils and inconveniences; and some of them are abandoned at all parts because men cannot resort there." The Provost of Paris is ordered to cause the repairs to be made by all to whom they pertained; and, if necessary, to compel by force "all" the inhabitants of the towns neighbouring to the bridges and highways.[2]

But what helps us to understand the difficulty of journeys in the bad weather better than ordinances, and enables us to picture the flooded roads like those of the

[1] Riley's "Memorials of London," London, 1868, p. 291.

[2] Ordonance of March 1, 1388, "Recueil d'Isambert," vol. vi. p. 665.

East in the rainy season, is the fact declared in official documents of the impossibility that existed formerly during bad weather of responding to the most important royal summons. Thus, for example, we see the bulk of the members called to Parliament from all parts of England fail at the appointed day, without the delay being attributable to any other cause than the state of the roads. We read thus in the record of the sittings of the second Parliament of the third year of Edward III. (1339) that it was necessary to declare the few representatives of the Commons and of the nobility who had been able to reach Westminster, "that because the prelates, earls, barons, and other lords and knights of the shires, citizens and burgesses of cities and boroughs were so troubled by the bad weather that they could not arrive that day, it would be proper to await their coming." [1]

Yet these members were not poor folks, they had good horses, good coats, thick cloaks covering the neck, reaching up just under the hat, with large hanging sleeves falling over the knees; [2] no matter, the snow or the rain, the floods, or the frost, had been strongest. While battling each one against the weather which hampered his journey, prelates, barons, or knights, must have been obliged to stop their animals in some isolated inn, and as they listened to the sound of the sleet on the wooden panels which closed the window, feet at the fire in the smoky room while waiting the retreat of the waters, they thought on the royal displeasure which soon, no doubt, would show itself in

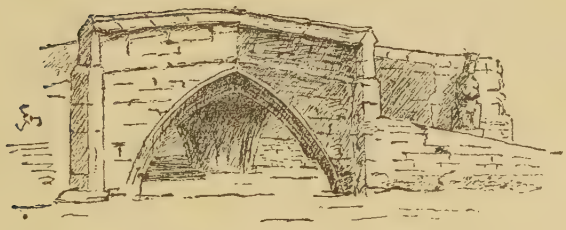
[1] "Rolls of Parliament," ii. p. 107.

[2] See the engraving as frontispiece, p. 4.

THE PARLIAMENT SITTING AT WESTMINSTER, OCT., 1399. [*p.* 87.

(*From the Harl. MS. 1319, painted*

"the painted chamber" at Westminster. In short, though there were roads, though property was burdened with obligatory services for their support, though laws from time to time recalled their obligations to the possessors of the soil, though the private interest of lords and of monks, in addition to the interest of the public, gave occasion to reparation now and then,—the fate of the traveller in a fall of snow or in a thaw was very precarious. The Church might well have pity on him, and might specify him, together with the sick and the captive, among the unfortunates whom she recommended to the daily prayers of pious souls.



THE THREE-BRANCHED BRIDGE AT CROWLAND.

A COMMON CART.
(*From the MS.* 10 *E. IV. in the British Museum. English ; Fourteenth Century.*)

CHAPTER II.

THE ORDINARY TRAVELLER AND THE CASUAL PASSER-BY.

THUS kept up, the roads stretched away from the towns and plunged into the country, interrupted by the brooks in winter and scattered with holes ; the heavy carts slowly followed their devious course, and the sound of grating wood accompanied the vehicle. These carts were very common and numerous. Some had the form of a square dung-cart, simple massive boxes made of planks borne on two wheels ; others, a little lighter, were formed of slatts latticed with a willow trellis : the wheels were protected by great nails with prominent heads.[1] Both were used for labour

[1] See representations of these carts in the manuscripts of the fourteenth century, and especially in MS. Roy., 10 E. IV., at the

in the country; they were to be found everywhere, and were hired very cheaply. Twopence for carrying a ton weight a distance of one mile, was the average price; for carrying corn, it was about a penny a mile per ton.[1] All this does not prove that the roads were excellent, but rather that these carts, indispensable to agriculture, were numerous. They did not represent a large sum to the villagers, who themselves fabricated them; they were made solid and massive because they were easier to set up thus and resisted better the jolts of the roads; a very slight remuneration would suffice for the owners of carts. The king always needed their services; when he moved from one manor to another, the brilliant *cortège* of the lords was followed by an army of borrowed carts.

The official purveyors found the carts on the spot and freely appropriated them; they exercised their requisitions ten leagues on each side of the road followed by the royal convoy. They even took without scruple the carts of travellers coming thirty or forty leagues, whose journey was thus abruptly interrupted. There were indeed statutes against forced loans, which especially provided that suitable payment should be made, that is to say, "ten pence a day for a cart with two horses, and fourteen pence for a cart with three horses." But often no payment came. The "poor Commons" re-commenced their protestations, the par-

British Museum, fol. 63, 94, 110, &c., and in the Louterell psalter. We give above a fac-simile of one of them, and below a representation of a reaper's cart from the Louterell psalter. See also Bodl. MS. 264, fos. 42, 84, 103, 110.

[1] T. Rogers, "History of Agriculture and Prices," i. pp. 650–661.

liament their statutes, and the purveyors their exactions. Beside the carts they demanded corn, hay, oats, beer, meat; it was quite a little army that had to be fed, and the requisitions cast the villages into terror. People did what they could to be exempted; the simplest way was to bribe the purveyor, but the poor could not. Yet numberless regulations had successively promised that there should never be any further abuse. The king was powerless; under an imperfect government the laws created to last for ever rapidly lose their vitality, and those made at that time died in a day. Purveyors swarmed; many gave themselves out as king's officers who were not so, and these were not the least greedy. All bought at absurd prices and limited themselves to promising payment. The statute of 1330 shows how these payments never arrived; how also when twenty-five quarters of corn were taken only twenty were reckoned because they were measured by "the heaped bushel."[1] In the same way, for hay, straw, &c., the purveyors found means to reckon at a halfpenny for their own account what was worth two or three pence; they ordered that provision of wine should be brought, kept the best in order to sell it again on their own behalf, and got paid for returning a portion of it to those from whom they had taken it, which singularly reversed matters. The king perceived all this and reformed accordingly. A little time after

[1] "Statutes of the Realm," 4 Edward III. ch. 3. Eight bushels make a quarter. [The Act 25 Edward III. stat. 5, ch. 10 (A.D. 1351) provided that every measure of corn should be striken without heap, and that the royal purveyors should use this measure. (Hence the name *strike* for a bushel.) L. T. S.]

A REAPER'S CART GOING UP-HILL.

(*From the Louterell Psalter; Fourteenth Century;* "*Vetusta Monumenta*," *vol.* vi.)

p. 93.

he reformed again, and with the same result. In 1362 he declared that henceforth the purveyors should pay ready money at the price current of the market; and he added the amusing proviso that the purveyors should lose their detested name and should be called buyers: "that the heinous name of purveyor [*i.e.* providor] be changed, and named achatour [buyer]."[1] The two words conveyed, it appears, very different ideas.[2]

The same abuses existed in France, and numerous ordinances may be read in the pages of Isambert which are conceived in exactly the same spirit and which respond to the same complaints; ordinances of Philip the Fair in 1308, of Louis X. in 1342, of Philip VI., who wills that the "preneurs pour nous" ("takers for us"), should not take unless they had "new letters from us," which shows the existence of false providors as in England. John of France renews all the restrictions of his predecessors, December 25, 1355, &c.

The king and his lords journeyed on horseback for the most part, but they had also carriages. Nothing gives a better idea of the encumbering, awkward luxury which formed the splendour of civil life during this century than the structure of these heavy machines. The best had four wheels; three or four horses drew them, harnessed in a row, the postilion being mounted upon one, armed with a short-handled whip of many thongs; solid beams rested on the axles, and above this framework rose an archway rounded like a tunnel; as a whole, ungraceful enough. But the details were extremely elegant, the wheels were carved and their

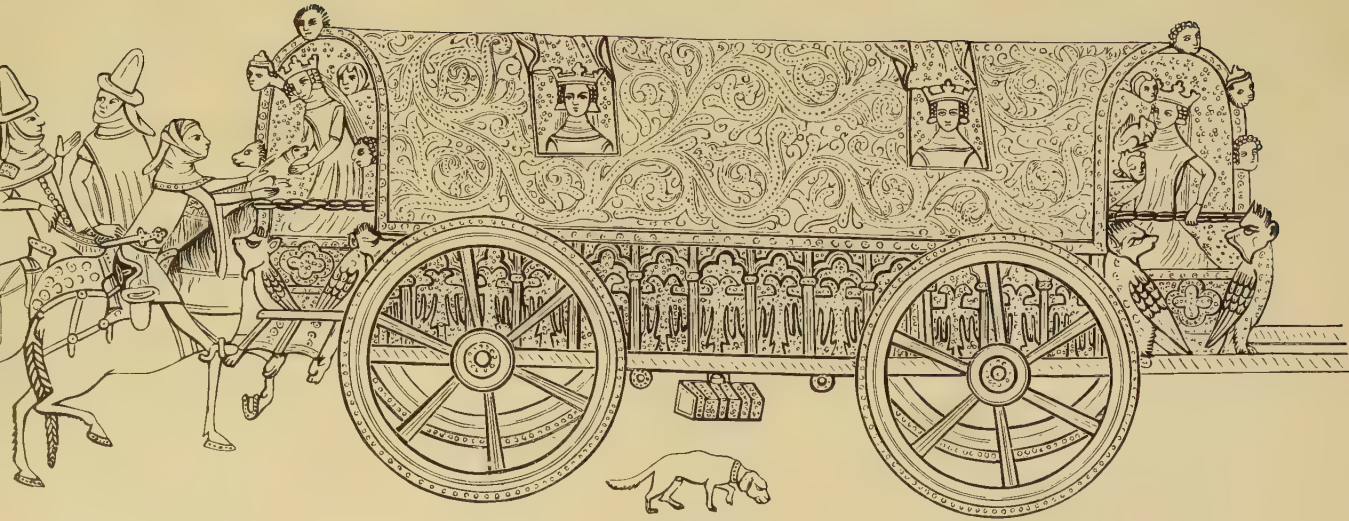
[1] Statute 36 Edward III. stat. 1, ch. 2.

[2] See several extracts in Appendix V.

spokes expanded near the hoop into ribs forming pointed arches; the beams were painted and gilt, the inside was hung with those dazzling tapestries, the glory of the age; the seats were furnished with embroidered cushions; a lady might stretch out there, half sitting, half lying; pillows were disposed in the corners as if to invite sleep, square windows pierced the sides and were hung with silk curtains.[1] Thus travelled the noble lady, slim in form, tightly clad in a dress which outlined every curve of the body, her long slender hands caressing the favourite dog or bird. The knight, equally tightened in his *cote-hardie*, regarded her with a complacent eye, and, if he knew good manners, opened his heart to his dreamy companion in long phrases like those in the romances. The broad forehead of the lady, who has perhaps coquettishly plucked off her eyebrows and stray hairs, a process about which satirists were indignant,[2] brightens up at

[1] Representations of carriages of this kind are frequent in manuscripts. Many are to be found, with two wheels and much ornamented, in the romance of the King Meliadus (MS. of the fourteenth century in the British Museum, Add. 12,228, fos. 198 v°, 243). The celebrated carriage with four wheels of the Louterell psalter (also of fourteenth century) is here reproduced. It is drawn by five horses harnessed in a row. On the second sits a postilion with a short whip of several thongs; on the fifth, that is, the nearest to the carriage, sits another postilion with a long whip of the shape in use at the present day.

[2] La Tour-Landry relates a story of a holy hermit who saw in a dream his nephew's wife in purgatory. The demons were pushing burning needles into her eyebrows. An angel told him that it was because she had trimmed her eyebrows and temples, and increased her forehead, and plucked out her hair, thinking to beautify herself and to please the world. ("Le livre du Chevalier de La Tour-Landry," ed. Montaiglon, Paris, 1854. An English translation of



AN ENGLISH CARRIAGE OF THE FOURTEENTH CENTURY.
(*From the Louterell Psalter.*)

[*p.* 97.

moments, and her smile is like a ray of sunshine. Meanwhile the axles groan, the horse-shoes crunch the ground, the machine advances by fits and starts, descends into the hollows, bounds altogether at the ditches, and falls violently back with a dull noise. The knight must speak pretty loud to make his dainty discourse, maybe inspired by the recollections of the Round Table, heard by his companion. So trivial a necessity has always sufficed to break the charm of the most delicate thought; too many shocks agitate the flower, and when the knight presents it, it has already lost its perfumed pollen.

The possession of such a carriage as this was a princely luxury. They were bequeathed by will from one to another, and the gift was valuable. On September 25, 1355, Elizabeth de Burgh, Lady Clare, wrote her last will and endowed her eldest daughter with "her great carriage with the covertures, carpets, and cushions." In the twentieth year of Richard II. Roger Rouland received £400 sterling for a carriage destined for Queen Isabella; and John le Charer, in sixth of Edward III., received £1,000 for the carriage of Lady Eleanor.[1] They were enormous sums. In the

the fifteenth century was published by the Early English Text Society in 1868.)

[1] The king's sister. Devon's "Issues of the Exchequer," 1837, p. 142. As Englished by Devon, the Latin text referred to would mean that the receiver of the money and maker of the carriage was Master la Zousche, but La Zousche was the clerk of the wardrobe, who had the money from the Exchequer to give it to John le Charer, "per manus John le Charer." *Per* has here the meaning of *pro*, a use of the word of which several instances may be found in Du Cange. (This indication of Devon's mistake is due to the late Mr. Bradshaw, of Cambridge.)

fourteenth century the average price of an ox was thirteen shillings, one penny farthing; of a sheep, one shilling and five pence; of a cow, nine shillings and five pence; and a penny for a fowl.[1] Lady Eleanor's carriage then represented the value of a herd of sixteen hundred oxen.

Scarcely less ornamented were the horse-litters sometimes used by people of rank, especially by ladies. They were of the same shape as the carriages, being covered with a sort of round vault, in which were cut more or less large openings. Two horses carried them, one before, the other behind, each being placed between the shafts with which the machine was provided at both ends.[2]

Between these luxurious carriages and the peasants' carts there was nothing which answered to the multitude of middle-class conveyances to which we are now accustomed. True, there were some not so expensive as those belonging to the princesses of Edward's Court, but they were not many. Every one at this time knew how to ride on horseback, and it was much more customary to employ the animals than the heavy vehicles of the period (see frontispiece). They went much faster, and their masters were more certain to arrive. "The Paston Letters" show that matters had

[1] Thorold Rogers, "History of Agriculture and Prices," i. pp. 361–363.

[2] Curious representations of such litters are to be found in mediæval manuscripts; for instance, in the MS. 118 Français, in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris, fol. 285, where two persons are to be seen in the litter, a lady and a wounded knight (Romance of Lancelot, fourteenth century); or in the MS. Roy. 18 E. II. in the British Museum, fol. 7. (Chronicles of Froissart.)

TRAVELLING IN A HORSE LITTER. [*p.* 101.

(*From the MS.* 118 *Français in the Bibliothèque Nationale, late Fourteenth Century.*)

changed little in the fifteenth century. John Paston was ill in London, his wife wrote to him to beg him to return as soon as he could bear the horse-ride ; the idea of returning in a carriage did not even occur to them. Yet it was an affair of a severe illness, "a grete dysese."

Margaret Paston writes on September 28, 1443, "If

A YOUNG SQUIRE (CHAUCER'S SQUIRE) TRAVELLING ON HORSEBACK.
(*From the Ellesmere MS.*)

I might have had my will, I should have seen you ere this time ; I would ye were at home, if it were your ease, and your sore might be as well looked to here as it is where ye be, now liefer than a gown though it were of scarlet. I pray you if your sore be whole, and so that ye may endure to ride, when my father comes

to London, that ye will ask leave, and come home, when the horse shall be sent home again, for I hope ye should be kept as tenderly here as ye be at London." [1]

Women were accustomed to riding almost as much as men, and when they had to travel they usually did it on horseback. A peculiarity of their horsemanship was that they habitually rode astride. The custom of riding sidewise did not spread in England before the latter part of the fourteenth century, and even then it was not general. In the invaluable manuscript of the Decretals (Roy. 10 E. IV.) in the British Museum, ladies on horseback are constantly represented; they always ride astride. At one place (fol. 310) horses are shown being brought for a knight and a lady; both saddles are exactly the same; they are very tall behind, so as to form a sort of comfortable chair. The numerous ivories of the fourteenth century in the South Kensington Museum and in the British Museum often represent a lady and her lover, both on horseback, and hawking. In almost all cases the lady unmistakably rides astride. Both ways of riding are shown in the illuminations of the Ellesmere manuscript of Chaucer's "Canterbury Tales," which illuminations belong to the fifteenth century. The wife of Bath rides astride, and carries large spurs, and the prioress sits sideways.

There were few places in England where the sight of the royal *cortège* was not well known. The journeys of the Court were incessant. We have seen the motives for this above. The royal itineraries that

[1] "Paston Letters" (1422–1509), edited by Jas. Gairdner, 1872, vol. i. p. 49. [The spelling in this quotation is modernized —L. T. S.]

A WOMAN RIDING ASTRIDE (CHAUCER'S WIFE OF BATH).
(*From the Ellesmere MS.*)

A LADY RIDING SIDEWAYS (CHAUCER'S PRIORESS). [*p.* 105.
(*From the Ellesmere MS.*)

have been published throw a flood of light upon this continual need of movement. The itinerary of John Lackland shows that he rarely passed a month in the same place, most frequently he did not even remain there a week. Within a fortnight he is often found at five or six different towns or castles.[1] The same in the time of Edward I.; in the twenty-eighth year of his reign (1299–1300) that prince changed his abode seventy-five times without leaving the kingdom, that is on an average three times a fortnight.[2]

And when the king moved, not only was he preceded by twenty-four archers in his pay, receiving threepence a day,[3] but he was accompanied by all those officers whom the author of "Fleta" enumerates with so much complaisance. The sovereign took with him his two marshals, his outer or foreign marshal (*forinsecus*) who in time of war disposed the armies for battle, fixed the halting-places on his journeys, and at all times arrested malefactors found in the *virgata regia*, that is to say, within twelve leagues around his dwelling;[4] and his inner marshal (*intrinsecus*), who

[1] "Patent Rolls and Itinerary of King John." Edited by T Duffus Hardy, 1835.

[2] "Liber quotidianus garderobæ" (Society of Antiquaries), London, 1787, p. 67.

[3] "Archers. And xxiiij archers on foote for garde of the kinge's body, who shall goe before the kinge as he travaleth thorough the cuntry" ("King Edward II.'s . . . Ordinances," 1323, ed. Furnivall, p. 46).

[4] "Fleta, seu commentarius juris Anglicani," editio secunda, London, 1685, lib. ii. cap. 2, 4. This treatise is said to have been composed in the prison of the Fleet by a lawyer in the time of Edward I. It is posterior to 1292, for mention is made in it of the submission of Scotland.

guarded the palace and castles, and cleared them as much as possible from courtesans. He received from every common harlot (*meretrice communi*) four pence by way of fine, the first time that he arrested her; if she returned she was brought before the steward, who solemnly forbid her ever to present herself at the dwelling of the king, queen, or their children; the third time she was imprisoned and the tresses of her hair were shorn off; the fourth time one of those hideous punishments was resorted to which the Middle Ages in their barbarity tolerated; the upper lip of these women was cut off, "ne de cætero concupiscantur ad libidinem."[1] There was also the chamberlain, who took care that the interior of the house was comfortable: "he has to arrange decently for the king's bed, and to see that the rooms be furnished with carpets and benches;" the treasurer of the wardrobe, who kept the accounts; the marshal of the hall, whose mission it was to eject unworthy intruders and dogs,—"non enim permittat canes aulam ingredi,"—and a crowd of other officers.[2]

Over all must be placed the king's seneschal or steward, the first officer of his household, and his great justiciar. Wherever the king went the apparatus of justice was transported with him: when he was about to start the steward gave notice to the sheriff[3] of the

[1] Lib. ii. cap. 5. An ordinance of Edward II. speaks only of the brand by a hot iron on the forehead. ("King Edward II.'s Household and Wardrobe Ordinances," A.D. 1323, Chaucer Society, ed. Furnivall, 1876.)

[2] Lib. ii. cap. 14, 15.

[3] He sent a *mandatum* to this effect, which he withdrew when the king changed his mind as to the place where he wished to go, which happened often enough. "Debet autem senescallus nomine

A FAMILY DINNER, WITH DOGS, MUSICIANS, CARVER, CUPBEARER, MARSHAL OF THE HALL (EXPELLING A LAZAR).

(*From the MS. Addit.* 28162 *in the British Museum. Fourteenth Century.*)

place where the court would stop, in order that he might bring all his prisoners to the town where the prince was to be stationed. All cases amenable to the jurisdiction of the justices in eyre were then determined by the steward, as the king's justiciary, who prescribed, if necessary, the judicial duel, pronounced sentences of outlawry, and judged in criminal and civil cases.[1] This right of criminal justice even accompanied the king abroad, but he only exercised it when the criminal had been arrested in his own house. This occurred in the fourteenth year of Edward I. This sovereign being at Paris, Ingelram de Nogent came into his house to rob, and was taken in the act. After discussion it was decided that Edward, by his royal privilege, should remain judge in the matter; he delivered the robber over to Robert Fitz-John, his steward, who caused Ingelram to be hung from the gibbet of St. Germain-des-Prés.[2]

For a long time the chancellor himself, and the clerks who made out the writs, followed the king on his journeys, and Palgrave notes that frequently a strong horse was required from the nearest convent to carry the rolls;[3] but this custom came to a close in the

capitalis justitiarii cujus vices gerit mandare vicecomiti loci ubi dominus rex fuerit declinaturus, quod venire faciat ad certum diem, ubicumque tunc rex fuerit in ballivia sua, omnes assisas comitatus sui et omnes prisones cum suis atachiamentis" ("Fleta," lib. ii. cap. 3, § 4).

[1] "Habet etiam ex virtute officii sui potestatem procedendi ad utlagationes et duella jungendi et singula faciendi quæ ad justitiarios itinerantes, prout supra dictum est pertinent faciendi" ("Fleta," lib. ii. cap. 3, § 11). [2] "Fleta," lib. ii. cap. 3, § 9.

[3] "Original authority of the King's Council," p. 115.

fourth year of Edward III., when the Chancery was permanently installed at Westminster. The tribunal moving on, a crowd of suitors moved with it. No matter though they were not inscribed on the rolls, they followed without losing patience, as the shark follows the ship, hoping to light on some prey. Parties with a lawsuit, various petitioners, women "of ill life" (*de fole vie*), quite a herd of individuals without a character, persisted in escorting the prince and his courtiers. They quarrelled among each other, robbed by the way, sometimes committed murders, and did not contribute, as may be imagined, to render the news of the king's arrival welcome.

In the ordinances of his household, Edward II. declares and deplores all these grave abuses; he orders that men without a character who follow the Court shall be put in irons for forty days on bread and water, and that the women of ill life shall be likewise imprisoned and branded with a hot iron; he forbids his knights, clerks, squires, valets, grooms, in short, all who accompany him, to bring their wives with them, unless they have any post or employment at Court, this host of womenkind not possibly being other than a cause of disorder. He also limits the number of those who should accompany the marshal, which had increased little by little beyond all bounds. His ordinances are very wise and very minute, but it is well known how quickly such orders in the Middle Ages fell into desuetude.

Justice travelled not only in the king's suite. She was peripatetic in England, and the magistrates from London who had to bring her into the shires, as the

sheriffs and bailiffs into the boroughs within their counties, periodically went round the country redressing wrongs. But grave abuses also slipped into these institutions; and, in spite of the precautions which had made the men under the jurisdiction of the sheriffs and bailiffs themselves the judges of these officials, numerous statutes one after the other had to declare some practices culpable and to stop them, for a time. The view of frankpledge was held before the sheriffs and bailiffs in hundreds and manors.[1] This was a minute inquiry, article by article, of the manner in which the laws of police and of safety, the rules as to property, were executed; the juries summoned were questioned as to this or that case of robbery, murder, fire, rape, sorcery, apostasy, destruction of bridges and of roads (*de pontibus et calcetis fractis*), of vagabondage, &c., which they might know. The turns or tourns of the sheriffs and bailiffs might, according to the Great Charter, only take place twice a year, not oftener, because their coming occasioned loss of time and money to the sworn men who had to leave home, and to the king's subjects at whose houses these officers had to lodge.[2] The

[1] This seignorial right was attached to many manors, and was conveyed with them. See the petition of an abbess who claims (on account of the fines by which she ought to profit) the view of frankpledge, attached to the manor of Shorwalle, in the Isle of Wight, which has been given to her. Isabella de Forte, the lady of the isle, disputes this right with her. ("Rolls of Parliament," ii. p. 182, year 1347.)

[2] Magna Carta, cap. 42, of the second confirmation by Henry III. (1217), Stubbs' "Select Charters," p. 337. "Nec liceat alicui vicecomiti vel ballivo tenere turnum suum per hundredum nisi bis per annum." ("Fleta," lib. ii. cap. 52.)

people greatly feared the abuses which might arise on this head, and the Commons often petitioned the king on that account.[1]

The itinerant judges also held regular inquest, according to the *Articles of the Crown*, in the same fashion. The frequency of their arrivals varied with the period; the Great Charter (art. 18), fixed the number at four each year. They sat in full court of the county, they presided over it, and they thus served as a link between the royal justice and the justice of those ancient popular courts. In proportion as the importance of the magistrates increased, that of the sheriff as judge diminished. They demanded of the juries what crimes, what misdemeanours, what infractions on the statutes had come to their knowledge. And in these minute interrogatories at every moment came up the names of the sheriff, the coroner, the bailiff, the constable, of all the royal functionaries, whose conduct was thus placed under popular control. Has any of these officers, says the judge, released some robber, or a false moneyer, or a clipper of coin? Has he for any consideration neglected the pursuit against a vagabond or an assassin? Has he unjustly received fines? Has he been paid by men who wished to avoid a public charge (for example, of being sworn as member of a jury)? Has the sheriff claimed more than reasonable hospitality from those in his jurisdiction in tourns held too oft? Has he presented himself with more than five or six horses? And the juror ought in the same way to denounce, under the faith of his oath, great lords who have arbitrarily imprisoned travellers passing through

[1] See Appendix VI.

their land, and all those who neglect to assist in arresting a robber and in running with the "hue and cry;" for in this society each man is by turns peace officer, soldier, and judge, and even the humble peasant, menaced by so many exactions, has, too, his share in the administration of justice and the maintenance of public order. It will be seen how important from a social point of view were these judicial tourns, which regularly reminded the poor man that he was a citizen, and that the affairs of the State were also his affairs.[1]

When the monks came out of the cloister and travelled, they wilfully modified their costume, and it became difficult to distinguish them from the lords. Chaucer gives us an amusing description of the dress of the mundane monk:

> "I saugh his sleves purfiled atte hond
> With grys, and that the fynest of a lond,
> And for to festne his hood undur his chyn
> He hadde of gold y-wrought a curious pyn,
> A love-knotte in the gretter end ther was."[2]

But the councils are still more explicit, and do more than justify the satire of the poet. Thus the Council of London in 1342, reproaches the religious with wearing clothing "fit rather for knights than for clerks, that is to say short, very tight, with excessively wide sleeves, not reaching the elbows, but hanging down very low, lined with fur or with silk." They wore the beard long,

[1] "Fleta," lib. i. cap. 19, 20. See also "Local Self-Government and Centralization," by Toulmin Smith, 1848, pp. 220–232, 298.

[2] Prologue to the "Canterbury Tales"; The Monk (ed. Rich. Morris, vol. ii. p. 7).

rings on their fingers, costly girdles, purses or bags whereon figures and arabesques were embroidered in gold, knives which resembled swords, boots red or chequered in colour, shoes ending in long points and ornamented with slashes; in a word, all the luxury of the great ones of the earth. Later, in 1367, the Council of York made the same remarks; the religious have "ridiculously short" clothing; they dare publicly to wear those coats "which do not come down to the middle of the legs, and do not even cover the knees." Very severe prohibitions were made for the future, though on a journey tunics shorter than the regulation gown were tolerated.[1]

A bishop did not start on a journey without a great train; and the bishops, not to speak of their episcopal visitations, had to travel like the nobility to visit their lands and to live on them. On all these occasions they took with them their servants of different classes and their companions, like the king with his court. The accounts of the expenses of Richard de Swinfield, Bishop of Hereford, give an idea of the broad life led by the prelates. He was a bishop of some importance, very rich in consequence; many manors belonged to his bishopric; he could hold his rank as prelate and as lord, be hospitable, charitable to the poor, and spend much on requests and suits at the court of Rome and elsewhere. He had constantly in his pay about forty persons of different ranks, the greater part of whom accompanied the master in his numerous changes of residence. His squires (*armigeri*) had from a mark (13s. 4d.) to a pound a year; his *valleti*, that

[1] See Appendix VII.

is, the clerks of his chapel and others, his carters, porters, falconers, grooms, messengers, &c., had from a crown to eight shillings and eightpence. In the third degree came the kitchen servants, the baker, with two or four shillings a year; in the fourth degree, the boys or pages who helped the other servants and received from one to six shillings a year. One of the most curious

A COOK ON A JOURNEY (CHAUCER'S COOK).
(*From the Ellesmere MS.*)

retainers of the bishop was Thomas de Bruges, his champion, who received an annual salary that he might fight in the prelate's name on occasion of any lawsuit which might be terminated by judicial duel.[1]

[1] "Household Expenses of Richard Swinfield," ed. J. Webb, 1854 (Camden Society), vols. i. p. 125, ii. pp. xxx–xxxvi. The duels of Thomas de Bruges were not those of the cases of felony and

At eventide, monks, great men, and travellers of all kinds sought shelter for the night. When the king, preceded by his twenty-four archers, and escorted by his lords and the officers of his household, arrived in a town, the marshal indicated a certain number of the best houses, which were marked with chalk. The chamberlain presented himself, asked the inhabitants to make room, and the Court installed itself as well as it could in the lodgings. Even the capital was not exempt from this vexatious charge, but the marshal had to come to an understanding with the mayor, sheriffs, and city officers for the indication of the habitations. Sometimes the royal agent took no notice of this wise proviso, and a great commotion followed. In the nineteenth year of Edward II., that prince having come to the Tower, the people of his household quartered themselves on the citizens without the mayor and aldermen having been consulted; even the sheriff's house was marked with chalk. Great was the wrath of this officer when he found Richard de Ayremynne, the king's own secretary, established in his house, the stranger's horses in his stable, his servants in the

crime which resulted in the death of the vanquished; it was merely the duel with staff and shield (*cum fuste et scuto*) which required, as may be imagined, the replacement of the champion much less frequently. In the twenty-ninth year of Edward III., a duel took place by means of champions between the Bishop of Salisbury and the Earl of Salisbury. When the judges, conformably to the laws, came to examine the dress of the combatants, they found that the bishop's champion had several sheets of prayers and incantations sown in his clothes ("Year Books of Edward I.," Rolls Series, 32–33 year, Preface, p. xvi note). The examination of the dress was always made, of course with the intention of discovering these frauds, which were considered as most dangerous and disloyal.

kitchen. Without in the least being stopped by his respect for the majesty of the king, the sheriff, counting upon the privilege of the city, immediately drove out the secretary and his suite by force, rubbed off the marks of the chalk, and became once more master of his own house. Cited to appear before the Court steward, and accused of having despised the king's orders to the extent of at least £1000, he energetically defended himself, and appealed in defence to the mayor and citizens, who produced the charters of the city privileges. The charters were formal, they must be admitted; the sheriff's ardour was excused; Ayremynne consoled himself as best he could, and did not receive any indemnity.[1]

In the country, if the king did not find himself in proximity to one of his own or his liege's castles, he often went to lodge at the neighbouring monastery, sure of being received there as master. The great lords on their journeys did their best to imitate the prince in this respect.[2] In the convents hospitality was a religious duty; for the order of St. John of Jerusalem the first of duties. This order had establish-

[1] See Riley's "Liber Albus," p. 303, where the case is entered in full.

[2] It is enough to turn over Froissart to notice the extreme frequency of this custom; Jean de Hainaut arrives at Denain: "There he lodged in the abbey that night" (lib. i. part i. ch. 14); the queen disembarks in England with the same Jean de Hainaut, "and then they found a great abbey of black monks which is called St. Aymon, and they were harboured there and refreshed for three days" (ch. 18); "there the king stopped and lodged in an abbey" (ch. 292); "the King Philippe came to the good town of Amiens, and there lodged in the abbey of Gard" (ch. 296), &c.

ments all over England, and it was good fortune for the poor traveller to come to one of them. No doubt he was treated there according to his rank, but it was much not to find the door closed. The accounts of the year 1338,[1] show that these knight-monks did not seek to avoid the heavy burden of hospitality ; in their lists of expenditure are always to be found charges occasioned by *supervenientibus* (strangers). When it was an affair of kings or princes, they exceeded themselves ; thus the Prior of Clerkenwell mentions "much expenditure which cannot be given in detail, caused by the hospitality offered to strangers, members of the royal family, and to other grandees of the realm who stay at Clerkenwell and remain there at the cost of the house." In consequence, the account closes with this *résumé:* "Thus the expenditure exceeds the receipts by twenty-one pounds, eleven shillings and fourpence." Even the neighbourhood of a great man was a source of expense ; he was glad to send his suite to profit by the hospitality of the convent. Thus in the accounts for Hampton, the list of people to whom beer and bread have been furnished ends by these words : "because the Duke of Cornwall lives near."[2]

It should be noted that most of these houses had been endowed by the nobles, and each one recognizing his own land or that of a relation, a friend, or an ancestor, felt himself at home in the monastery. But these

[1] "The Knights Hospitallers in England," edited by Larking and Kemble, Camden Society, 1857. It is the text of a manuscript found at Malta entitled, "Extenta terrarum et tenementorum Hospitalis Sancti Johannis Jerusalem in Anglia, A.D. 1338."

[2] "Knights Hospitallers," pp. 99, 101, 127.

turbulent lords, friends of good cheer, abused the gratitude of the monks, and their excesses caused complaints which came to the ear of the king.[1] Edward I. forbade any one to venture to eat or lodge in a religious house, unless the superior had formally invited him, or that he were the founder of the establishment, and even then his consumption should be moderate. The poor only, who more than any lost by the excesses of the great, might continue to be lodged gratuitously: "the king intendeth not that the grace of hospitality should be withdrawn from the destitute."[2] Edward II., in 1309, confirmed these rules, which it appears fell into abeyance, and promised again, six years later, that neither he nor his family would make use of the hospitality of the monks with excess.[3] It was trouble lost; these abuses were already comprised among those which it was the object of the *Articles of the Crown* to discover, but were powerless to get rid of. Periodically the magistrate came to question the country folk on the subject. He asked them "if any lords or others had gone to lodge in religious houses without being invited by the superiors; or had gone at their own expense, against the will of the said religious;" whether any bold persons "had sent into the houses or mansions belonging to the monks or others, men, horses, or dogs to sojourn there at an expence not their own?" It appears that it was difficult or even dangerous to apply these rules, for the magistrate again questioned the jury about "any who may have taken revenge for refusal of food or lodging."[4]

[1] See Appendix VIII.
[2] Statute 3 Edward I. cap. 1.
[3] Statute 9 Edward II. cap. 11, *Articuli cleri*, A.D. 1315–1316.
[4] "Fleta," lib. i. cap. 20, § 68, 72.

The Commons in parliament, mindful as they were in such matters of the fate of the poorest, were not less jealous than the wealthy of the benefits of monkish hospitality, and watched lest the custom should fall into desuetude. The non-residence of the clergy, which was to be one of the causes of the Reformation two hundred years later, occasioned violent protestations during the fourteenth century. The Commons object especially because from this abuse there results a decay of the duties of hospitality. "And that all other persons advanced to the benefices of Holy Church," they demand of the king, "should remain on their said benefices in order to keep hospitality there, on the same penalty, except the king's clerks and clerks of the great lords of the realm."[1] The parliament again protests against the appropriation by the pope of rich priories to foreigners who remain on the continent. These foreigners "suffer the noble edifices built of old time when they were occupied by the English to fall quite to ruin," and neglect "to keep hospitality."[2]

Only people of high rank were admitted in the monastery itself. The mass of travellers, pilgrims and others, were housed and fed in the guest-house. This was a building made on purpose to receive passersby; it usually stood by itself, and was even, sometimes, erected outside the precincts of the monastery. Such, for instance, was the case in Battle Abbey, where the

[1] "Rolls of Parliament," iii. p. 501, A.D. 1402.

[2] Ibid., iii. p. 82, A.D. 1379–80. The clergy, on the other hand, complain that the sheriffs sometimes come "with their wives and other excessive number of people," to install themselves into monasteries, under pretext of collecting monies for the king. Ibid., p. 26, A.D. 1377.

guest-house is still to be seen outside the large entrance gate. These edifices commonly consisted of a hall with doors opening on each side into sleeping rooms. People slept also in the hall of the guest-house; old inventories, for instance the one concerning the Dover Maison-Dieu or hospital, show that beds were set up there, and there it seems, remained permanently.[1]

It is hardly necessary to recall that hospitality was also exercised in castles; barons who were not at feud willingly received one another; there were much stricter ties of brotherhood among them than now exist among people of the same class. We do not often now give lodging to unknown persons who knock at the door; at the most, and that rarely, we permit a poor man passing along in the country to sleep the night in our hay-loft. In the Middle Ages, men received their equals, not by way of simple charity, but as a habit of courtesy and also for pleasure. Known or unknown, the travelling knight rarely found himself refused the entry to a country house. His coming in time of peace was a happy diversion from the monotony of the days. There was in every house the *hall*, the large room where the repasts were taken in common; the new-comer ate with the lord at the table placed at one end on the spot called the *dais;* his followers were at the lower tables disposed the other way, along the walls of the house. Supper finished, all soon retired to rest, people went to bed and rose early in those days. The traveller withdrew sometimes into a special room for guests, if the house were large; sometimes into that of the master

[1] "Inventories of St. Mary's Hospital, or Maison Dieu," Dover, by M. E. C. Walcott, "Archæologia Cantiana," London, 1869.

himself, the *solar* (room on the first storey), and spent the night there with him. Meanwhile, the lower tables were taken out of the hall, for in general these were not standing, but movable; [1] mattresses were placed on the ground over the litter of rushes which day and night covered the pavement, and the people of the household, and of the traveller, the strangers of less importance, stretched themselves out there till morning. Such a litter of herbs or rushes was in constant use, and was to be found in the king's palace as well as in the houses of mere merchants in the city: it was spread in lieu of a carpet, to keep the room warm and to give an appearance of comfort. It is still to be met with, and this is, I believe, the last place where it has found refuge, in old-fashioned French provincial *diligences;* the straw in English country omnibuses is also its lineal descendant. Prices paid for the purchase of rushes constantly recur in the accounts of the royal expenses.[2] They were so largely used in towns as well as in the country, that people in cities did not know what to do with the soiled ones, and the local authorities had to interfere over and

[1] "Mensæ de medio remouentur" (or, in the English version by S. Bateman of 1582, fol. 81, "when they have eaten, boord, clothes, and reliefe bee borne awaye"). Description of a dinner in England, by Bartholomew the Englishman (de Glanville), 13th century. "Bartholomi Anglici de proprietatibus rerum," Frankfort, 1609, lib. vi. cap. 32. Smollett, in the eighteenth century, notes the existence of similar customs in Scotland; people dine, then sleep in the hall, where mattresses are stretched in place of tables ("Humphrey Clinker").

[2] "Hall and chamber, for litter, 20d.; hall and chamber, for rushes, 16d.; hall, &c., for litter, 1d., &c." (Extracts from the Rotulus familiæ, 18 Ed. I., "Archæologia," vol. xv. p. 350). The king was then at Langley Castle, Buckinghamshire.

over again, in London especially, where the inhabitants were apt to throw them into the Thames, with the result of greatly damaging and polluting the water.

Through a window pierced in the wall of separation between his room and the hall, on the side of the dais, the lord could see and even hear all that was done or said in the hall. The hall was used for sleeping even in the king's house; the ordinances of Edward IV. show it;[1] at a period much nearer our day (1514), Barclay still complains that at Court the same couch serves for two, and that the noise from the comers and goers, from brawlers, coughing, and chattering perpetually hinders sleep.[2] At the first streaks of dawn, sending through the white or coloured panes of the high windows spots of light upon the dark carved timber-work, which, high above the pavement, supported the roof itself of the house, all stirred on their couches; soon they were out of doors, horses were saddled, and the clatter of hoofs sounded anew on the highway.

Towards the latter part of the fourteenth century a change was perceptible in the use of the hall. It was first noted by that acute observer of manners, William Langland, the author of the "Visions." Life was becoming, by slow degrees, less patriarchal and more private; people were less fond of dining almost publicly in their halls. Rich men began to prefer having their

[1] Turner and Parker, "Domestic Architecture in England, from Edward I. to Richard II," Oxford, 1853, p. 75. See also in "Archæologia," vi. p. 366, the description, with drawings, of the Royal Hall at Eltham.

[2] Eclogue III. in the edition of the "Cytezen and Vplondyshman," published by the Percy Society, 1847, p. li.

meals by themselves in rooms with chimneys, which last particular Langland is careful to notice as being a sign of the growing luxuriousness of the times.[1] Less and less inhabited, the hall gradually became little more than a sort of thoroughfare leading to the rooms where people were living a life more private than before. It decreased in size as well as in importance, until it was nothing in ordinary houses but the vestibule which we now see.

It must have been only the very poor, or the very rich or powerful for whom the monastery served as a hostelry. Monks received the first in charity, and the second by necessity, the common inns being at once too dear for the one and too miserable for the other. These were intended for the middle class : merchants, small land-owners, packmen, &c. A certain number of beds were placed in one room, and each man bought separately what he wished to eat, chiefly bread, a little meat, and some beer. Complaints as to the excessive prices were not much less frequent then than now ; the people petitioned parliament and the king interfered accordingly with his accustomed useless good will. Edward III. promulgated, in the 23rd year of his reign, a statute to constrain "hostelers et herbergers" to sell food at reasonable prices ; and again, four years later, tried to put an end to the "great and outrageous cost of victuals kept up in all the realm by inn-keepers and other retailers of victuals, to the great detriment of the people travelling across the realm."[2]

[1] "The Vision concerning Piers the Plowman" (Skeat), Text B, passus x. line 96.

[2] Statutes 23 Ed. III. ch. 6 and 27 Ed. III. st. 1, ch. 3. As to

THE NEW HABITS OF LUXURY. A GENTLEMAN DRESSING BEFORE THE FIRE. [*p.* 127.

(*From the MS.* 2 *B.* vii., *in the British Museum. Fourteenth Century.*)

To have an instance of ordinary travelling, we may follow the warden and two fellows of Merton College, who went with four servants from Oxford to Durham and Newcastle in 1331.[1] They travelled on horseback; it was in the dead of winter. Their food was very simple and their lodging inexpensive, the same items recur almost always; they comprise, on account of the season, candles and fire, sometimes a coal fire. One of their days may give an idea of the rest; for a certain Sunday they write down:

Bread	4d.	Candles	¼d.
Beer	2d.	Fuel	2d.
Wine	1¼d.	Beds	2d.
Meat	5½d.	Fodder for Horses ...	10d.
Potage	¼d.		

Beds, we see, were not dear; on another occasion the servants alone are at the inn, and their sleeping comes to a penny for two nights. Generally, when the party is complete, the whole of their beds cost twopence; at London the price was a little higher, that is a penny a head.[2] Sometimes they have eggs or vegetables for a farthing, a chicken or a capon. When they had condiments, they put them down separately, for example: fat, ½d.; gravy, ½d.; pickle for the same price; sugar, 4d;

the inns of the Middle Ages, see Francisque Michel and Ed. Fournier, "La Grande Bohème, histoire des classes rèprouvèes," vol. i., "Hôtelleries et cabarets," Paris, 1851; and in the "Vetusta monumenta," vol. iv., 1815, pl. xxxv., a fine view of the George Inn at Glastonbury (fifteenth century).

[1] The Latin text of their account of expenses is published by Thorold Rogers in his "History of Agriculture and Prices," ii. p. 635.

[2] "Liber Albus," ed. Riley, Introduction, p. lviii.

pepper, saffron, mustard. Fish recurs regularly every Friday. Evening comes, the roads are dark; the way is lost, they take a guide, to whom they give a penny. On passing the Humber they pay eightpence, which may appear much, after the other prices. But we must remember that the river was wide and difficult to cross, especially in winter. The annals of the Abbey of Meaux constantly mention the ravages caused by the overflow of the river, telling of farms and mills destroyed, of entire properties submerged, and of cultivation swept

AN ENGLISH INN OF THE FOURTEENTH CENTURY
(*From the Louterell Psalter.*)

away. The owners of the ferry profited by these accidents, in continually augmenting their prices, and at last the king himself was obliged to intervene in order to re-establish the normal rate, which was a penny for a horseman; this is what the warden and fellows with their company paid.[1] Sometimes our travellers furnished themselves beforehand with provisions to carry with them; a salmon was bought, "for the journey,"

[1] See Appendix IX.

eighteenpence, and for having it cooked, doubtless with some complicated sauce, they pay eightpence.

Amusing specimens of dialogue on arrival between traveller and innkeeper, and discussion as to the price of victuals, may be read in the Manual of French Conversation, composed at the end of the fourteenth century by an Englishman, under the title of "La Manière de Language que t' enseignera bien à droit parler et escrire doulz François."[1] Chapter iii. is particularly interesting. It shows "how a man who is going far out of his own country, riding or walking, should behave himself and talk upon the way." The servant sent forward to engage the room utters the warm wish "'that there are no fleas, nor bugs, nor other vermin.' 'No, sir, please God,' replies the host, 'for I make bold that you shall be well and comfortably lodged here—save that there is a great peck of rats and mice.'" The provisions are passed in review, the fire lighted, supper prepared: the traveller arrives, and it is curious to note with what a gallant want of ceremony he assures himself before dismounting that he will find "good supper, good lodging, and the rest,"[2] at the inn. Further on (chap. xiii.) there is question of another hostelry, and the conversation between two travellers who have just slept in the same bed shows what a trouble the fleas were: "William, undress and wash your legs, and then dry them with a cloth, and rub them well for love of the fleas, that they may not leap

[1] Published by Prof. Paul Meyer in the *Revue Critique* (1870), vol. x. p. 373.

[2] "Bon souper, bon gîte, et le reste" (La Fontaine).

on your legs, for there is a peck of them lying in the dust under the rushes. . . . Hi ! the fleas bite me so ! and do me great harm, for I have scratched my shoulders till the blood flows."

Beer was drunk along the road, and it was found in other places besides the inn where travellers slept at night. At the cross-roads of frequented highways there were houses where drink could be had. A long projecting pole above the door, which displayed afar off its bunch of branches, announced the presence of the *alehouse* to travellers. Chaucer's pilgrims, riding on the way to Canterbury, dismounted at a house of this kind. The

ON THE ROADSIDE. THE ALEHOUSE.
(*From the MS.* 10 *E. IV. ; English ; Fourteenth Century.*)

pardoner, according to his habit, would not begin his tale without a little comfort :

> " But first quod he her at this ale-stake
> I wil bothe drynke and byten on a cake."

A miniature of the fourteenth century, of which we give a reproduction, represents the alehouse with its long horizontal pole holding its tuft of foliage well out in front above the road. The house consists but of one storey, a woman stands before the door with a large beer-jug, and a hermit is drinking from a large cup. It was the fashion to have extremely long poles, which

offered no inconvenience in the country, but in town they had to be under regulations, and a maximum of length fixed. In truth, according to the wording of the Act, poles so long were used, that they "did tend to the great deterioration of the houses in which they were placed," and further, they were so long and had signs so low, that they were in the way of the riders' heads. The Act of 1375 which relates these grievances orders that in future the poles shall not extend more than seven feet over the public way.[1] This left enough to give a picturesque character to streets not so wide as ours.

There were taverns of ill-fame, especially in the towns. In London it was forbidden by the king to keep open house after curfew, and for very good reasons, "because such offenders as aforesaid, going about by night, do commonly resort and have their meetings and hold their evil talk in taverns more than elsewhere, and there do seek for shelter, lying in wait and watching their time to do mischief." [2]

It was for fear of such dangers that the sheriffs and bailiffs were obliged, in their Views of Frankpledge, to require the men in their bailliwicks to say upon oath what they knew "of such as continually haunt taverns, and no man knoweth whence they come; of such as sleep by day and watch by night, eat well and drink well, and have nothing." [1]

[1] Riley's "Memorials of London," p. 386.

[2] Statutes for the City of London, 13 Ed. I., "Statutes of the Realm," vol. i. p. 102, A.D. 1285.

[3] Articles of the View of Frankpledge, attributed to 18 Ed. II., "Statutes," vol. i. p. 246 (French version).

We know the fine picture of a tavern in the fourteenth century which Langland has left us. With as much spirit as Rabelais he brings us into the presence of the tumultuous scenes which pass at the alehouse, to the discussions, the quarrels, the big bumpers, the intoxication which ensues: we see every face, we distinguish the sound of the voices, we remark the coarse behaviour; and one might almost take part in that strange assembly, where the hermit meets the cobbler and "the clerk of the churche," a band of cut-purses and bald-headed tooth-drawers.

"Thomme the tynkere, and tweye of hus knaues,
Hicke the hakeneyman, and Houwe the neldere,[1]
Claryce of Cockeslane, the clerk of the churche,
An haywarde and an heremyte, the hangeman of Tyborne,
Dauwe the dykere, with a dosen harlotes,
Of portours and of pyke-porses, and pylede toth-drawers.

* * * * * *

Ther was lauhyng and lakeryng, and 'let go the coppe,'
Bargeynes and beuereges by-gunne to aryse,
And seten so til evesong rang."[2]

At these taverns peasants are also found. Christine de Pisan, that woman whose writings and character so often recall Gower, shows them to us drinking, fighting, and losing in the evening more than they have gained all the day; they have to appear before the provost, and fines accrue to augment their losses:

"At these taverns every day you will find they remain, drinking there all day as soon as their work is

[1] Hugh the needle-seller.

[2] "Piers the Plowman," Skeat's edition, Text C, passus vii. *ll.* 364–370, 394.

done. Many find it the thing to come there in order to drink; they spend there, 'tis perfectly true, more than they have gained all day. Do not ask if they fight when they are tipsy, the provost has several pounds in fines for it during the year. And there are seen those idle gallants who haunt taverns, gay and handsome." [1]

At the time of the Renaissance in England, the poet Skelton, tutor of Henry VIII., amuses himself by describing in one of his most popular ballads an alehouse on the highroad; the house is just like those which Langland knew a century and a half sooner. The alewife, who brews, God knows how, her beer herself, is a detestable old creature, with a hooked nose, humped back, grey hairs, and wrinkled face, very much like the "magots" painted since by Teniers. She keeps her tavern near Leatherhead, in Surrey, on a declivity near

[1] "Par ces tavernes chacun jour,
Vous en trouveriez à séjour,
Beuvans là toute la journée
Aussi tost que ont fait leur journée.
Maint y aconvient aler boire :
Là despendent, c'est chose voire,
Plus que toute jour n'ont gaigné.

* * * *

Là ne convient il demander
S'ilz s'entrebatent quand sont yvres ;
Le prévost en a plusieurs livres
D'amande tout au long de l'an.

* * * *

Et y verriés de ces gallans
Oyseux qui tavernes poursuivent
Gays et jolis."
("Le Livre de la mutacion de fortune," liv. iii., MS. 603 Fr., Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.)

the highroad, and she sells her wares "to travellers, to tynkers," and others :

"Her nose somdele hoked,
And camously croked,
* * * *
Her skynne lose and slacke,
Grained like a sacke,
With a croked backe.
* * * *
She breweth noppy ale,
And maketh therof port sale
To travellars, to tynkers,
To sweters, to swynkers,
And all good ale drinkers."

Passers-by and dwellers in the neighbourhood crowd to her house :

"Some go streyght thyder,
Be it slaty or slyder ;
They holde the hye waye,
They care not what men say,
Be that as be may ;
Some, lothe to be espyde,
Start in at the backe syde,
Over the hedge and pale,
And all for the good ale."

The reputation of the houses with long bunches of branches does not seem to have improved, and many of those who frequented them had little wish to boast of it. As for paying the score that was the difficulty ! The worshippers of drink who had no money got out of it the best way they could ; they paid in kind :

"Instede of coyne and monny,
Some brynge her a conny,
And some a pot with honny,
Some a salt, and some a spone,
Some their hose, some theyr shone."

As to the women, one brings:

"her weddynge-rynge
To pay for her scot,
As cometh to her lot.
Som bryngeth her husbandes hood,
Because the ale is good."[1]

Other isolated houses that were found along the road had also constant relations with travellers, those of the hermits.[2] In the fourteenth century hermits for the most part seldom sought the solitude of deserts or the depth of the woods. Such as Robert Rolle of Hampole, fasting, falling into ecstasies, consumed with the divine love, were rare exceptions; they lived by preference in cottages, built at the most frequented parts of

[1] "Elynour Rummynge. The Poetical Works of John Skelton," ed. Dyce, 1843, vol. i. p. 95.

[2] A few hermitages are still in existence; one is to be seen at Knaresborough, Yorkshire, and is said to have been first inhabited by St. Robert in the thirteenth century; it is entirely hollowed out of the rock, and has a perpendicular window which seems to have been carved in the fourteenth century. Another, partly of masonry and partly scooped out of the rock, is in existence at Warkworth, Northumberland. One of the most famous ballads in Bishop Percy's "Reliques" is about the hermit of Warkworth. This hermitage seems to have been gradually enlarged by its successive inhabitants; but it appears from the style of the windows and carvings to belong mostly to the fourteenth century.

the great roads, or at the corners of bridges.[1] They lived there, like Godfrey Pratt,[2] on the charity of the passers-by; the bridge with its chapel was already almost a sacred building; the neighbourhood of the hermit sanctified it still further. He attended to the repairing of the edifice, or was supposed to do so, and was willingly given a farthing.[3] It was a strange race of men, which in this century of disorganization and reform, in which everything seemed either to die or to undergo a new birth, increased and multiplied in spite of rules and regulations. They swelled the number of parasites of the religious edifice, sheltering under the religious habit a life that was not so. These importunate and evil growths attached themselves, like moss in the damp of the cathedral to the fissures of the stones, and by the slow work of centuries menaced the noble edifice with ruin. What might remedy this? It was useless mowing down the ever-growing weeds; it needed a patient hand, guided by a vigilant eye, to pluck them out one by one, and to fill up the interstices by degrees: it was a saint's business, and saints are rare. The episcopal statutes might often apparently do a

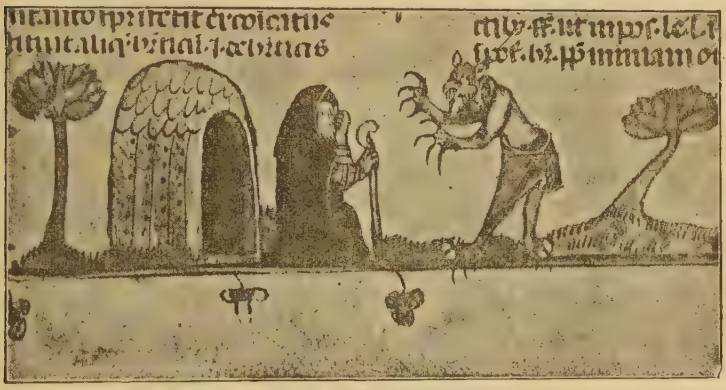
[1] See, for an example of a hermit installed at the corner of a bridge, an Act of resumption which formally excepts a grant of 14s. yearly to the "Heremyte of the Brigge of Loyne and his successours," 4 Ed. IV., "Rolls of Parliament," v. p. 546. Another example is to be found in J. Britton, "On Ancient Gate-houses" (Memoirs illustrative of the History of Norfolk, London, Archæological Institute, 1851), p. 137, where we find a hermit living on Bishop's Bridge, Norwich, in the thirteenth century and after.

[2] See before, pp. 45 *et seq.*

[3] See before as to the part taken by the clergy in the collection of offerings, the care and maintenance of bridges (chap. i.).

great work, but it was superficial merely. Though the heads were beaten down, the roots remained, and the lively parasite struck yet deeper into the heart of the wall.

Solemn interdictions and rigorous prescriptions were not wanting; these cast down heads which ever rose again. To become a hermit a man must be resolved on an exemplary life of miseries and privations, and, that imposture might be impossible, he must have epis-



A HERMIT TEMPTED BY THE DEVIL.
(*From the MS.* 10 *E. IV.; English; Fourteenth Century.*)

copal sanction, that is, possess "testimonial letters from the ordinary." These rules were broken without scruple. Inside his dwelling the not very devout creature in hermit's garb might lead a pretty pleasant life, and it was so hard elsewhere! The charity of passers-by was enough to live upon, especially if he had few scruples and knew how to beg; no other labour, no pressing obligation, the bishop was distant and the

tavern close by. All these reasons caused a never-ending growth of the mischievous species of false hermits who only took the habit to live by it, without asking permission of any one. In the statutes they were bracketed with beggars, wandering labourers, and vagabonds of all kinds, who were to be imprisoned without distinction while awaiting judgment. There was only exception for "approved" hermits: "except men of religion and approved hermits having letters testimonial from the ordinary."[1] A statute like this proves sufficiently that Langland did not exaggerate in his eloquent description of the life of hermits; his verse is but the commentary on the law. The author of the "Vision" is impartial and does justice to sincere anchorites: true Christians resemble them.[2] But who are these false saints who have pitched their tent at the edge of the highroads or even in the towns, at the doors of the alehouses, who beg under the church porches, who eat and drink plentifully, and pass the evenings in warming themselves?

"Ac eremites that en-habiten by the heye weyes,
And in borwes a-mong brewesters and beggen in churches."[3]

Who is that man who rests and roasts himself by the hot coals, and when he has well drunk, has only to go to bed?

[1] 12 Rich. II., ch. 7, "Statutes of the Realm."

[2] "Piers Plowman," Skeat's edition, Text C, passus i. l. 30; passus x. l. 195.

[3] Ibid., passus x. l. 188.

"lewede eremytes,
That loken ful louheliche to lacchen [1] mennes almesse,
In hope to sitten at euen by the hote coles,
Vnlouke hus legges abrod, other lygge at hus ese,
Reste hym and roste hym and his ryg (back) turne,
Drynke drue and deepe and drawe hym thanne to bedde;
And when hym lyketh and lust hus leue ys to aryse;
When he ys rysen, rometh out and ryght wel aspieth
Whar he may rathest haue a repast other a rounde of bacon,
Suluer other sode mete, and som tyme bothe,
A loof other half a loof, other a lompe of chese;
And carieth it hom to hus cote and cast hym to lyue
In ydelnesse and in ese." [2]

All these are unworthy of pity, and, adds Langland, with that aristocratic sentiment which has not been sufficiently remarked in him, all these hermits meanwhile are common artisans, "workmen, webbes and taillours, and carters knaves;" formerly they had "long labour and lyte wynnynge," but they remarked one day that these deceitful friars who were seen on every side "hadde fatte chekus," they immediately abandoned their labour and took lying garments, as though they were clerks:

"Other of som ordre, other elles a prophete."

They are seldom seen at church, these false hermits, but they are found seated at great men's tables because their clothes are respectable; look at them eating and drinking of the best! they who formerly were of the lowest rank, at the side tables, never drinking wine, never eating white bread, without a blanket for their beds.

[1] Look humbly to gain alms.
[2] "Piers Plowman," Skeat's edition, Text C, passus x. ll. 140–152.

"Ac while he wrought in thys worlde and wan hus mete with treuthe,
He sat atte sydbenche and secounde table ;
Cam no wyn in hus wombe thorw the weke longe,
Nother blankett in hus bed ne white bred by-fore hym.
The cause of al thys caitifte cometh of meny bisshopes
That suffren suche sottes." [1]

These rascals escaped the bishops, who ought to have had their eyes better open. "Alas!" said a poet of the thirteenth century, Rutebeuf, in charming language, "The coat does not make the hermit; if a man dwell in a hermitage and be clothed in hermit's dress, I don't care two straws for his habit nor his vesture if he does not lead a life as pure as his coat pretends. But many folk make a fine show and marvellous seeming what they are worth; they resemble the trees which blossomed too brightly and which fail to bring forth fruit." [2]

Under the eyes of the placid hermit, comfortably

[1] "Piers Plowman," Skeat's edition, passus x. ll. 251–256.

[2] "Li abis ne fet pas l'ermite ;
S'uns hom en hermitage abite
Et s'il en a les dras vestus,
Je ne pris mie deus festus
Son abit ne sa vesteure,
S'il ne maine vie aussi pure
Comme son abit nous démonstre ;
Mes maintes genz font bele monstre
Et merveilleux sanblant qu'il vaillent :
Il sanblent les arbres qui faillent
Qui furent trop bel au florir."
(Le Dit de frère Denise. "Œuvres complètes de Rutebeuf," edition Jubinal, Paris, 1874, vol. ii. p. 63.)

established at the edge of the road, under the glance of this man, who calmly prepared himself by an untroubled life without care nor suffering for a blissful eternity, flowed the changefully coloured current of travellers, vagabonds, wayfarers, and wanderers. His benediction rewarded the generous passer ; the hard look of the austere man did not suffice to disturb his blessed indifference. The life of others might rapidly consume, burnt by the sun, gnawed by care ; his own endured in the shade of the trees, and continued without hurt, lulled by the rustle of human passions.

AN ESCAPED PRISONER FLYING TO SANCTUARY.
(*From the MS.* 10 *E. IV.*)

CHAPTER III.

SECURITY OF THE ROADS.

THESE roads thus traversed in all directions by the king and the lords going from one manor to another, by the merchants going to the fair, the market, or the staple, these roads, where at intervals the crunching of the peasants' carts was heard, were they safe? The theoretic study of the legal ordinances, and of the manner in which the county police and the town watch and ward were organized, might lead to the conclusion that precautions were well taken for the prevention of misdeeds, and that travelling did not present more danger than it does at present. If we add, as Mr. Thorold Rogers has shown, that there was a regular service of carriages between Oxford and London, Winchester, Newcastle, &c., and that the price of transport was not dear we might be persuaded that the roads

were absolutely safe. Yet we should be wrong. On the other hand, we must not consider, on the faith of the romances, as some do, that there were brigands in every thicket, a hanged man at every branch, and robber lords settled along every stream. But we must take *accident*, or the unexpected, into account.

Accident plays a greater part in the fourteenth century than perhaps at any other epoch. It was the moment when modern life began, when the superficial brilliancy of a novel civilization had recently modified society from top to bottom. Confidence was greater, homes less fortified, the crenelated castle changed into a villa or a mansion, while the hut grew into a house. More means were taken than formerly to hinder ill-doing ; but numerous occurrences happened to destroy this commencement of security. At bottom society was neither quite calm nor quite settled, and many of its members were still half savage. The term "half" may be literally taken. If we made a list of the qualities of such or such an individual, we should find that the first part belonged to a much civilized, and the second to a very barbarous world. Thence these contrasts ; on one side order, which it would perhaps be injustice not to consider the normal condition ; and on the other, the frequent ebullitions of the untamed nature. Let us take an example of such occurrences : here are a knight and his men at the corner of a road, who are waiting for a caravan of merchants. The text itself of the victims' petition gives all the details of the encounter.[1]

The incident took place in 1342. Some Lichfield merchants state to their lord, the Earl of Arundel,

[1] Printed in the "Archæological Journal," vol. iv. p. 69.

that on a certain Friday they sent two servants and two horses laden "with spicery and mercery," worth forty pounds, to Stafford for the next market day. When their men "came beneath Cannock Wood" they met Sir Robert de Rideware, Knight, who was waiting for them, together with two of his squires, who seized on the domestics, horses, and booty, and took them to the priory of Lappeley. Unfortunately for him, during the journey one of the servants escaped. At the priory the band found "Sir John de Oddyngesles, Esmon de Oddyngesles, and several others, knights as well as others." It was evidently an arranged affair, carefully organized; everything was done according to rule; they shared "among them all the aforesaid mercery and spicery, each one a portion according to his degree." That done, the company left Lappeley and rode to the priory of Blythebury, occupied by nuns. Sir Robert declared at the abbey that they were the king's men, "having travelled far," and begged for hospitality as it was usually given. But it seems the company had a bad appearance; the abbess refused. The knights, seeing this inopportune reception, burst the gates of the barns, gave hay and oats to their horses, and so passed the night.

But they were not the only persons well occupying their time. The escaped servant had followed them at a distance, and when he saw them installed at the priory he returned in all haste to Lichfield to warn the bailiff, who hastened to collect his men for the pursuit of the robbers. The latter, who were men of the sword, as soon as they were met, turned on their defence, and a real combat took place, in which at first they had the

upper hand, and wounded several of their enemies. At length, however, they lost ground and fled; all the spices were recovered, and four of their company taken, who were immediately beheaded on the spot.

Robert de Rideware was not among the victims, and did not lose heart. He met his relative Walter de Rideware, lord of Hamstall Rideware, with some of his following, while the bailiff was on his road back to Lichfield; all together turned their horses' heads in pursuit of the bailiff. A fresh fight; this time the king's officer was worsted and fled, while the lords finally took from him the spices once more.

What resource remained for the unhappy William and Richard, authors of the petition? Resort to justice? This they wished to do. But as they were going for this purpose to Stafford, chief town of the county, they found at the gates of the city some of the retainers of their persecutors, who barred their passage and even attacked them so warmly that they hardly escaped without grievous hurt. They returned to Lichfield, watched by their enemies, and led a pitiable existence. "And, sire, the aforesaid William and Richard, and many people of the town of Lichfield, are menaced by the said robbers and their maintainers, so that they dare not go out of the said town at all."

This legal document, the original of which still exists, is tolerably characteristic, and from this it appears that these lords and their assistants were not without resemblance to those of the *Promessi Sposi* and their terrible *bravi*. Here, especially, may be remarked the coolness and determination of the knights, who were not disconcerted by the death of four of their number;

the attack under cover of a wood ; the selection of the victims ; "garsuns" belonging to rich merchants ; the demand for hospitality in a priory under pretext of journeying in the king's service ; the expeditious justice of the bailiff, and the persistent surveillance to which the steps of the victims were subjected by their tyrants.

These are not quite exceptional facts, and Robert of Rideware was not the only one who was on the look out in the copses along the side of the roads. Many other lords were, like him, surrounded by devoted men, ready for all enterprises. Capes and liveries of their masters' colours were given to them, which permitted them easily to be recognized ; a lord well surrounded with his partizans considered himself as above the common law, and justice had no easy matter to make herself respected by him. The custom of having, each one, a number of determined servitors bearing his colours became universal at the end of Edward III.'s reign and under Richard II., it subsisted in spite of statutes [1] during the whole of the fifteenth century, and contributed largely to render the barons' wars of this period embittered and bloody.

[1] Richard II. had several times to renew and confirm them, but without effect. In his first statute upon this subject, he states the luxury of partizans which many men, though of indifferent means, delight in ; declaring "that divers people of small revenue of land, rent, or other possessions, do make great retinue of people, as well of esquires as of other, in many parts of the realm" (1 Richard II., cap. 7, A.D. 1377). The third statute of 13 Richard II., that of 16th year (cap. 4), that of 20th year (cap. 1 and 2), are likewise directed against the abuse of liveries and the number of partizans of the "lords spiritual and temporal." Henry VI. renewed these statutes, without effect.

But even independently of the periods of civil war, the misdeeds committed by certain barons and their faithful followers, or even simply by followers acting on their own account under cover of their lord's colours, were everywhere so frequent and so serious that in many counties it might have been thought there was war. The preamble of a statute of the second year of Richard II.[1] makes perhaps rather an exaggerated picture of these disorders on purpose better to justify rigorous measures, but the description must have been in a large measure true. We there see (the king learnt it at the time from the formal petitions addressed to parliament and by public rumour) that certain people in several parts of the kingdom claimed "to have right to divers lands, tenements and other possessions, and some espying women and damsels unmarried, and some desiring to make maintenance in their marches, do gather them together to a great number of men of arms and archers, to the manner of war, and confederate themselves by oath and other confederacy." These people, having no "consideration to God, nor to the laws of holy church, nor of the land, nor to right, nor justice, but refusing and setting apart all process of the law, do ride in great routs in divers parts of England, and take possession and set them in divers manors, lands, and other possessions of their own authority, and hold the same long with such force, doing many manner apparelments of war; and in some places do ravish women and damsels, and bring them into strange countries, where please them; and in some places lying in await with such routs do beat and maim, murder and slay the people,

[1] Statute 2 Richard II., stat. i. cap. 6, A.D. 1378.

for to have their wives and their goods, and the same women and goods retain to their own use; and sometimes take the king's liege people in their houses, and bring and hold them as prisoners, and at the last put them to fine and ransom as it were in a land of war; and sometime come before the justices in their sessions in such guise with great force, whereby the justices be afraid and not hardy to do the law; and do many other riots and horrible offences, whereby the realm in divers parts is put in great trouble, to the great mischief and grievance of the people."[1] In the Good Parliament in 1376, the Commons had already made similar complaints: "Now great riot begins anew by many people in different parts of England who ride with a great number of armed men," &c.[2]

[1] The picture which this statute presents is so complete that it is not necessary to quote other texts. In the petitions addressed to parliament are found very numerous complaints by private persons for acts of violence of which they had been victims, for imprisonment by the action of their enemies, robberies, cases of incendiarism, of destruction of game or fish in the parks. Examples: petition of Agnes of Aldenby, beaten by malefactors ("Rolls of Parliament," i. p. 375); of Agnes Atte Wode, she and her son beaten and robbed (ibid., i. p. 372); of the inhabitants of several towns of the county of Hertford, who have been imprisoned and forced to pay ransom by the knight John of Patmer (i. p. 389); of John of Grey, who was attacked by fifteen malefactors so determined as to set fire to a town and assault a castle (i. p. 397); of Robert Power, who is robbed and his mansion sacked, his people beaten, by "men all armed as men of war" (i. p. 410); of Ralph le Botiller, who has seen his mansion pillaged and burnt by eighty men, who came with arms and baggage, bringing ropes and hatchets on carts (ii. p. 88), &c. In France, it is well known, the misdeeds of this kind were still more numerous, but there was then a continual state of war there.

[2] "Rolls of Parliament," ii. p. 351.

Besides these organized and quasi-seignorial bands, there were ordinary robbers, against whom Edward I. had taken, in 1285, special measures in the Statute of Winchester. It is declared in this Act that malefactors are accustomed to crouch down in the ditches, coppice, or brushwoods near upon the roads, especially near those which link two market towns. This was, of course, the passage-way of many easy victims, richly laden. Thus the king orders that the edge of the highways shall be cleared for a distance of two hundred feet on each side, in such a manner that there remain neither coppice nor brushwood, nor hollow nor ditch which might serve as shelter for malefactors. Only large trees such as oaks might be left. The proprietor of the soil had to do this ; if he neglected it, he would be responsible for robberies and murders, and must pay a fine to the king. If the road crossed a park, the same obligation lay on the lord, unless he consented to close it by a wall or a hedge so thick, or by a ditch so wide and deep, that robbers could not cross it or find therein a shelter before or after their attacks.

But in proportion as we advance in the fourteenth century, we find that these common thieves discovered a better employment for their energies without quite changing their condition. They allied themselves, sometimes secretly, sometimes openly, to the seignorial bands, and were not henceforward unticketed men for whom no one was responsible. The Commons are aware of the fact, and complain accordingly : "Whereas it is notoriously known *throughout all the shires of England* that robbers, thieves, and other malefactors on foot and on horseback, go and ride on the high-

way through all the land in divers places, committing larcenies and robberies : may it please our lord the king to charge the nobility of the land that none such be maintained by them, privately nor openly ; but that they help to arrest and take such bad fellows." [1] In the preceding parliament the same complaints had been made, and the king had already promised that he would order "such remedy as should be pleasing to God and man." [2]

All these ill-doers, without reckoning the support of the great, had fine privileges. Some of them were met along the roads with a cross in hand ; both king and holy church forbade the touching of these, they were men who had forsworn the kingdom. When a robber, a murderer, or any felon found himself too hard pressed, he fled into a church and found safety. In almost all societies having reached a certain state of civilization the same privilege has existed or still exists. It continues in constant use in many parts of the East. A church in the Middle Ages was a sacred place ; whoever had crossed its threshold was under the protection of God, and many fine miracles, the history of which was familiar to everybody, attested with what particular favour the right of sanctuary was regarded by the Holy Virgin. At Walsingham, whither there was a celebrated pilgrimage, people never failed to go and see the "Gate of the Knight," a gate which had stretched itself so as to give miraculous shelter to a man on horseback, hard pursued by his enemies, and

[1] "Rolls of Parliament," vol. ii. p. 201 (22 E. III., 1348).
[2] Ibid., vol. ii. p. 165.

who found himself thus opportunely placed beyond the reach of men as well as beyond the reach of law.

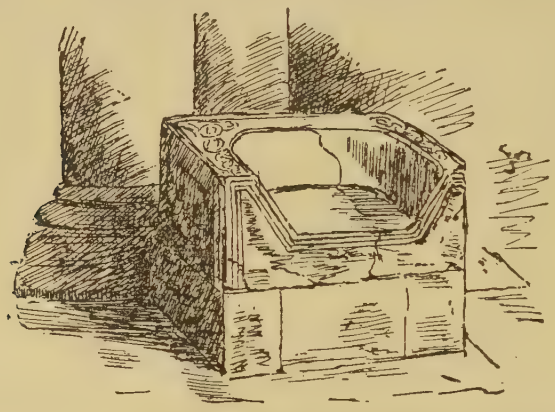
Several curious relics of old English sanctuaries are still in existence. There is at Durham a beautiful bronze knocker, cast and chiselled in Norman times, still affixed to the cathedral door through which malefactors were admitted to the sanctuary.[1] As soon as they had knocked, the door was opened, the bell in the Galilee tower was rung, and after having confessed

THE KNOCKER OF THE DURHAM SANCTUARY (NORMAN).

before witnesses their crime, which was at once put into writing, the culprits were allowed to enjoy the peace of St. Cuthbert. In several churches there was a chair or stool called the *fridstool*, or peace chair, upon which the criminal sat, and was then absolutely safe. At Beverley, for instance, there was one, the Latin inscription of which has been preserved : " This stone seat is

[1] R. W. Billings, "Architectural illustrations . . . of the church at Durham," London, 1843, p. 20.

called *freedstoll*, that is, chair of peace, on reaching which a fugitive criminal enjoys complete safety."[1] The Beverley and the Durham sanctuaries were among the most celebrated in England. The privilege extended not only to the church, but to one mile round it, the space being divided into six circles, and it was more and more sinful to drag fugitives violently from the sanctuary the nearer they were when seized to the inner



THE FRIDSTOOL AT HEXHAM ABBEY, NORTHUMBERLAND (NORMAN).

circle. If they had reached the altar or the fridstool no money atonement was accepted. One such stool is still preserved at Hexham Abbey, Northumberland; it

[1] "Erant hujusmodi cathedrarum multæ in Anglia . . . Beverlaci autem celeberrima, quæ priscorum regum benignitate (puta Æthelstani vel alterius cujuspiam) asyli nacta privilegium, tali honestabatur inscriptione: 'Hæc sedes lapidea *Freedstoll* dicitur, i.[e.] pacis cathedra, ad quam reus fugiendo perveniens, omnimodam habet securitatem'" (H. Spelman, "Glossarium Archaiologicum," 3rd ed., London, 1687, p. 248).

is of Norman style, and seems to belong to the twelfth century.

But the most curious remembrances of the English sanctuaries are the registers still preserved in some few cases, in which were entered the confessions of the criminals at the moment they asked for admittance. The Beverley and the Durham registers have been printed; both date from the fifteenth century; that of Durham covers the years 1464 to 1524; it includes, besides other crimes, 195 murders and homicides, in which 283 persons are concerned, and which are divided as follows, according to the trades and avocations of the perpetrators:

"Husbandmen ...	8	Tanner	1
Labourers	4	Baxster	1
Yeomen	4	Glover	1
Gentlemen	4	Sailor	1
Ecclesiastics ...	3	Apprentice... ...	1
Merchants	2	Under-Bailiff ...	1
Tailor	1	Servant	1
Plumber	1	Knight (an accessory)	1
Carpenter	1		

"The occupations of the remainder are not mentioned."[1]

The entries in the register resemble each other very much; the formalities are the same; the Galilee bell is tolled, the culprit makes a full confession; witnesses are called to hear it, and the names of all concerned are given in full. Here is an example translated from the Latin original: "To be remembered that on the 6th day of October, 1477, William Rome and William Nichol-

[1] J. Raine, "Sanctuarium Dunelmense et Sanctuarium Beverlacense," London, Surtees Society, 1827, p. xxv.

son, of the parish of Forsate, fled to the cathedral church of St. Cuthbert in Durham, where on account among other things of a felony committed and publicly confessed by them, consisting of the murder by them of William Aliand; they asked from the venerable and religious men, Sir Thomas Haughton, sacristan of the said church, and William Cuthbert, master of the Galilee there, both brothers and monks of the same church, to be admitted to the benefit of the immunity of the church, according to the liberties and privileges conceded in old time to the most glorious confessor Cuthbert. And by the ringing of one bell according to custom, they obtained this benefit. There were present there, seeing and hearing, the discreet men William Highyngton, Thomas Hudson, John Wrangham, and Thomas Strynger, witnesses called in especially for the occasion."[1]

At Beverley there were no witnesses: the culprit swore with his hand on the Book. Besides stating the cause of his flying to sanctuary he took his oath to remain peaceful, to help in case of fire, to be present at mass on the commemoration day of King Athelstan, benefactor of the church, &c.:

"Also ye shall bere no poynted wepen, dagger, knyfe, ne none other wapen, ayenst the kynges pece.

"Also ye shalbe redy at all your power, if ther be any debate or stryf, or oder sodan case of fyre within the towne, to help to surcess it.

"Also ye shalbe redy at the obite of Kyng Adelstan, at the dirige and the messe, at such tyme as it is done, at the warnyng of the belman of the towne, and doe

[1] See Appendix X.

your dewte in ryngyng, and for to offer at the messe on the morne,"[1] &c.

To drag men out of sanctuary was a sacrilege which brought down excommunication. Nicholas the Porter had helped to snatch from the church of the Carmelites of Newcastle some laymen who had taken refuge there "for the safety of their lives," and who, once delivered to civil authority, had been executed. He was obliged to employ the intervention of the Pope's nuncio to gain pardon, and to submit to a public penance much opposed to our present customs :

"We order," wrote Bishop Richard to the curate of St. Nicholas of Durham, "that on Monday, Tuesday, and Wednesday of the Whitsun-week just coming, he shall receive the whip from your hands publicly, before the chief door of your church, in his shirt, bare-headed, and barefoot.[2] He shall there proclaim in English the reason for his penance and shall admit his fault; and

[1] "Sanctuarium Dunelmense et Sanctuarium Beverlacense," p. 111.

[2] Penance of this kind was not only applied to men. Women of all ranks were obliged to submit to it. In the same Register Palatine of Durham may be seen the case of Isabella of Murley, condemned for adultery with her sister's husband, John d'Amundeville, to receive publicly "six whippings around the market of Durham" (vol. ii. p. 695). What makes it the more strange is that the case was not one of people of the lower sort. This Amundeville family was powerful and old-established in the county. There are particulars about them from the thirteenth century in Surtees, "History and Antiquities of the County Palatine of Durham," London, 1823, vol. iii. p. 270. Another example is to be found in the "Constitutiones . . . Walteri de Cantilupo" (Bishop of Worcester), A.D. 1240; Wilkins' "Concilia Magnæ Britanniæ et Hiberniæ," London, 1757, vol. i. p. 668.

when he has thus been whipped the said Nicholas will go to the cathedral church of Durham, bareheaded, barefoot, and dressed as above, he will walk in front, you will follow him; and you will whip him in the same manner before the door of the cathedral these three days, and he will repeat there the expression of his fault." [1]

The king himself did not dare to infringe upon the privileges of sanctuaries, and, though unwilling, had to let traitors escape by this means his revenge or justice. In a case of this kind, one of the Henries wrote to the Prior of Durham, and careful as he was to state that he bound himself only "for that occasion," there is no doubt that there was nothing exceptional in this acknowledgment of the full immunities enjoyed by St. Cuthbert's Church: "Trusty and welbeloved in God," says the king, [2] "we grete you well. And wheras we undirstand that Robert Marshall late comitted to prison for treason is now escapid and broken from the same into youre church of Duresme, we hauyng tender zele and devocion to ye honour of God and St. Cuthbert, and for the tendir favour and affection that the right reverend fader in God our right trusty and welbeloved the Bisshop of Duresme our chauncellor of England we have for his merits wol that for that occasion nothyng be attempted that shud be contrarie to the liberties and immunitie of our church. We therefor wol and charge you that he be surely kept there as ye wol answere unto us for him." As there could be very little need for the

[1] "Registrum Palatinum Dunelmense," ed. Sir T. D. Hardy, London, 1875, vol i. p. 315, A.D. 1313. See Appendix X.

[2] Henry IV. or Henry V. Raine, "Sanctuarium Dunelmense," p. xvii.

king to declare such an obvious feeling as his respect for St. Cuthbert, the earnest recommendation by which he ends his epistle is most likely to have been the only real cause of his writing to his welbeloved the Prior of Durham. Another characteristic instance is the rebellion of Jack Cade, 1450, when one of his accomplices fled to St. Martin-le-Grand, the most famous of the London sanctuaries. The king in this case wrote to the Dean of St. Martin's ordering him to produce the traitor. This the Dean refused to do, and he exhibited his charters, which being found quite correct and explicit, the fugitive was allowed to remain in safety where he was.[1]

This right of sanctuary was most valuable, not only for political offenders, but also, and much more, for robbers. They escaped from prison, fled to the church, and saved their lives. "In this year" (18 E. II., 1324), say the "Croniques de London,"[2] "ten persons escaped out of Newgate, of whom five were retaken, and four escaped to the church of St. Sepulchre, and one to the church of St. Bride, and afterwards all for-swore England." But when the poor wretches were watched in the church by their personal enemies, their situation became dangerous. This is what the statutes of 1315–1316 show. The authors of a petition[3] to the king set forth that armed men established themselves in the

[1] "Historical Notices of the Collegiate Church or Royal free Chapel and Sanctuary of St. Martin le Grand, London," by A. J. Kempe, London, 1825, p. 136.

[2] "Croniques de London," edited by G. J. Aungier, Camden Society, 1844, p. 48 (written by a contemporary of the events).

[3] "Articuli cleri," statute 9 E. II. cap 10.

cemetery, and even in the sanctuary, to watch the fugitive, and guarded him so strictly that he could not even go out to satisfy his natural wants. They hindered food from reaching him; if the felon decided to swear that he would quit the kingdom his enemies followed him on the road, and in spite of the law's protection dragged him away and beheaded him without judgment. The king reforms all these abuses,[1] and orders that the old regulations as to abjuration should be put in force, that is to say the following: "When a robber, murderer, or other evil-doer shall fly unto any church upon his confession of felony, the coroner shall cause the abjuration to be made thus: Let the felon be brought to the church door, and there be assigned unto him a port, near or far off, and a time appointed to him to go out of the realm, so that in going towards that port he carry a cross in his hand, and that he go not out of the king's highway, neither on the right hand, nor on the left, but that he keep it always until he shall be gone out of the land; and that he shall not return without special grace of our lord the king."

The felon took oath in the following terms: "This hear thou, sir coroner, that I, N., am a robber of sheep, or of any other beast, or a murderer of one or of more, and a felon of our lord the King of England, and because I have done many such evils or robberies in this land, I do abjure the land of our lord Edward King of England, and I shall haste me towards the port of such a place which thou hast given me, and that I

[1] He forbids those on guard to stay in the cemetery, unless there is imminent danger of flight. The felon may have the "necessaries of life" in the sanctuary, &c.

shall not go out of the highway, and if I do I will that I be taken as a robber and felon of our lord the king; and that at such a place I will diligently seek for passage, and that I will tarry there but one flood and ebb, if I can have passage; and unless I can have it in such a place I will go every day into the sea up to my knees assaying to pass over; and unless I can do this within forty days, I will put myself again into the church as a robber and a felon of our lord the king. So God me help and his holy judgment." [1]

In the church the robbers found themselves in company with insolvent debtors. These before coming there made a general donation of all their property, and the creditors who cited them to justice found that they had no hold over them. In 1379,[2] Richard

[1] "Statutes of the Realm," i. p. 250, text of uncertain date, but probably belongs to the reign of Edward II. According to "Fleta" (lib. i. cap. xxix.), at the end of forty days of asylum, if the malefactors have not abjured the kingdom, food must be refused to them, and they would no longer be allowed to emigrate. On the road to the port, according to the same authority, the felon wore a costume which would cause him to be recognized. He was to be "un-girt, un-shod, bare-headed, in his bare shirt, as if he were to be hanged on the gallows, having received a cross in his hands."

[2] Statute 2 Rich. II., stat. 2, chap. 3. These frauds had been already complained of under Edward III. A petition of the Commons in the parliament of 1376–77 ("Rolls of Parliament," ii. p. 369), declares that certain people, after having received money or merchandise on loan, and having made a pretended gift of all their property to friends, "flee to Westminster, St. Martin's, or other such privileged places, and live there a long time, . . . so long that the said creditors are only too pleased to take a small part of their debt and release the rest." Then the debtors return home, and their friends give them back all their property.

II. remedied this inconvenience. During five weeks, once a week, the debtor is to be summoned, by proclamation made at the door of the sanctuary, to appear in person or by attorney before the king's judges. If he does not choose to appear justice will have her course; sentence will be passed, and the property that he had given will be shared among the creditors.

This was, however, only a temporary remedy. In the first years of the following reign, we find the Commons presenting to the king their laments over the same abuses. Apprentices leave their masters with their goods, tradesmen in debt, robbers, flee to St. Martin-le-Grand and calmly live there on the money they have stolen. They employ the leisure which this peaceful existence leaves them in patiently fabricating charters, obligations, and false quittances, imitating the signatures and seals of honest city merchants. As to the brigands and murderers, they are comfortably off for preparing new crimes; they go out at night to execute them, and return in the morning in perfect safety to their inviolate retreat. The king limits himself to vaguely promising that "reasonable remedy shall be had." [1]

Some years later (A.D. 1447) there was a great commotion among the Goldsmiths' Company of London, for they had found out that a quantity of sham gold and silver plate and jewellery had been issued from the privileged precincts of St. Martin's sanctuary, to the great detriment of their own worshipful company. They brought the facts under the notice of the king, who wrote to the Dean recommending him to check this abuse if possible: "Trustie and welbeloved, we

[1] See Appendix X.

grete you wel, and let you to wete that we be informed that there be divers persons dwellinge within our seinctuarie of St. Martin's that forge and sell laton and coper, some gilt and some sylved for gold and silver, unto the great deceipt of our lege people. . . ."[1] The tone of the king's letter is very moderate; he seems to write only to please the Goldsmiths' Company, while pretty well realizing that he is powerless in the matter, and that his recommendations will come to nothing.

A priest who took refuge in a church was not obliged to quit England; he swore that he was a priest, and "enjoyed ecclesiastic privilege, according to the praiseworthy custom of the kingdom."[2] But the church, who accorded to all comers the benefit of sanctuary, reserved to herself the power of removal from it. "In this year (1320), a woman who was named Isabel of Bury, killed the priest of the church of All Saints, near London Wall, and she remained in the same church five days, so that the Bishop of London issued his letter that the church would not save her, wherefore she was brought out of the church to Newgate and was hanged on the third day afterwards."[3]

In those days, when agitations and revolts were not uncommon, the right of sanctuary might be useful for any one; it was therefore quite in vain that Wyclif protested and demanded its suppression. A bishop even, however sacred his person, might himself be liable to have to spur his horse and to fly towards a church

[1] A. J. Kempe, "Historical Notices of . . . St. Martin le Grand," London, 1825, p. 135.

[2] Statute 9 E. II. cap. 15.

[3] "Croniques de London," Camden Society, 1844, p. 42.

to save his head. The Bishop of Exeter was in this case when Isabella and her son came to overthrow Edward II.[1] "The same day came one Sir Walter de Stapleton, who was Bishop of Exeter, and the king's treasurer the previous year, riding to his house in Elde Deanes lane to his dinner, and there he was proclaimed traitor; and he seeing that fled on his horse towards the church of St. Paul's, and was there met and quickly unhorsed, and brought to Cheap, and there he was stripped and his head cut off."

Under Richard III. might be seen a queen and a king's son refuse to quit the sacred enclosure of Westminster, in which their life was safe, thanks to the sanctity of the place. Sir Thomas More has left in his history of the usurper, the first real history in the national language which English literature can count, a moving picture of the courage of Edward IV's. widow and of the great quarrel raised by Richard in order to snatch the second child of the late king from the abbey. To the reiterated demands that were made to her the queen replied: "In what place coulde I recken him sure, if he be not sure in this the sentuarye whereof was there neuer tiraunt yet so deuelish, that durst presume to breake. . . . For soth he hath founden a goodly glose, by whiche that place that may defend a thefe, may not saue an innocent."[2] The subterfuge of Richard III. consisted simply in having the right of sanctuary

[1] "Croniques de London," Camden Society, 1844, p. 52.

[2] "The History of King Richard the Thirde" (unfinished), writen by Master Thomas More, than one of the Under Sherriffs of London: about the yeare of our Lorde, 1513. London 1557. Reprinted by S. W. Singer, Chiswick, 1821, p. 55.

abolished. In his speech in favour of the measure, which had particularly in view the asylums of St. Paul's and Westminster, the Duke of Buckingham drew a very lively as well as an exact picture of the disorders to which this right of refuge led : "What a rabble of theues, murtherers, and malicious heyghnous traitors, and that in twoo places specyallye. . . . Men's wyues runne thither with theyr housbandes plate, and saye, thei dare not abyde with theyr housebandes for beatinge. Theues bryng thyther theyr stolen goodes, and there lyue thereon. There deuise thei newe roberies; nightlye they steale out, they robbe and reue, and kyll, and come in again as though those places gaue them not onely a safe garde for the harme they haue done, but a license also to doo more." [1]

This privilege endured, however, and even survived the introduction of the Reformation into England ; but from that hour it was less respected. Lord Chancellor Bacon cites the sanctuary of Colnham, near Abingdon, which being considered "insufficient" for traitors, under Henry VII. several political criminals who had taken refuge there, were unceremoniously seized, and one of them was executed.[2] Sanctuaries were suppressed, theoretically at least, in the twenty-first year of the reign of James I. : "And be it alsoe enacted by the authoritie of this present parliament that no sanctuarie or priviledge of sanctuary shal be hereafter admitted or

[1] "The History of King Richard the Thirde," pp. 44, 45.

[2] "History of the reign of King Henry VII.," Ellis and Spedding's edition of Bacon's Works, vol. vi. p. 43. Bacon says that Henry "was tender in the privilege of sanctuaries, though they wrought him much mischief" (p. 238).

allowed in any case."[1] But, nevertheless, sanctuaries lingered on in England as well as on the continent. Cromwell complains in one of his most famous speeches of the difficulties his Government experience on that account when they have to ask from foreign potentates that justice be done in certain cases. He alludes to the recent assassination of an English messenger, and says: "It is the pleasure of the Pope at any time to tell you that though the man is murdered, yet his murderer has got into the sanctuary." In England, after the statute of James I., the right of sanctuary did not fall entirely into disuse, for the suppression of this privilege had to be renewed. It was again enacted in 1697, and sanctuaries are to be found even so late as the reign of George I., when the asylum of St. Peter's at Westminster was demolished.

With all their penal severity, law and custom still gave other encouragements to malefactors. They frequently received charters of pardon; the royal chancery willingly granted these because they must be paid for, and the Commons unweariedly renewed their complaints against these crying abuses. The priest, John Crochille, states to the king in parliament that while he was at the Court of Rome he has been outlawed, and was imprisoned on his return. The chancellor has granted him a charter of pardon, but he is "so impoverished that he has not the wherewith to pay for the said charter."[2]

Charters were thus given to the innocent for money,

[1] 21 James I. cap. 28, § 7; "Statutes," vol. iv. part ii. p. 1237.

[2] "Rolls of Parliament," 21 Ed. III. vol. ii. p. 178. See also the petition of the Commons in 1350–51, 25 Ed. III. vol. ii. p. 229.

and to "common felons and murderers" also, which had two results: first, the number of brigands increased by reason of their impunity; next, men dared not bring the most formidable criminals to justice for fear of seeing them return pardoned and ready to revenge themselves terribly. Unhappily, besides the profit of the tax paid, the interest that the lords had in the continuance of this abuse tended to its maintenance. Inseparable from their men, they could defend them from justice as they themselves were defended by them in the street or on the road; and the best means of saving these *bravi* from the consequences of some assassination was to obtain or to buy for them a charter of pardon. The Commons were not ignorant of this, and recalled to the king that often the lords, protectors of criminals, obtained charters for them on the representation that these men were abroad, occupied in fighting for the prince. The charter once obtained, the brigands returned and recommenced their ill-deeds, without fear of being troubled by any one.[1]

For all these reasons the traveller would not have been prudent if he had not foreseen at departure the

[1] "Our lord the king by untrue recommendations has several times granted his charter of pardon to notorious robbers and to common murderers, when it is given him to understand that they are staying for his wars beyond the sea, whence they suddenly return into their country to persevere in their misdeeds." The king orders that on the charter shall be written "the name of him who made the recommendation to the king." And the judges before whom this charter shall be presented by the felon to have his liberty shall have the power to make inquiry, and if they find that the recommendation is not well founded, they shall hold the charter of non effect ("Rolls of Parliament," vol. ii. p. 253, A.D 1353).

chance of some ill meeting, and if he had not in consequence armed himself. This was a recognized necessity, and it was therefore that the Chancellor of the University of Oxford on occasion of a journey allowed the students to carry arms, otherwise strictly forbidden.[1]

There was, then, little safety against robbers, and there was not always much even against the sheriff's officers. At this insecure period, when prowlers were so numerous, it was enough to be a stranger in the district, especially if it were night, to be sent to gaol on suspicion, as shown by a statute of Edward III.[2] Nothing is more general than the terms of this law; the power to arrest is almost without limit: "Whereas, in the statute made at Winchester in the time of King Edward, grandfather to the king that now is, it is contained, That if any stranger pass by the country in the night, of whom any have suspicion, he shall presently be arrested and delivered to the sheriff, and remain in ward till he be duly delivered; and because there have been divers manslaughters, felonies, and robberies done in times past, by people that be called roberdesmen, wastors, and draw-latches . . ." whoever suspects a passer-by to belong to one of these bands, "be it by day or by night," shall cause him immediately to be arrested by the constables of the towns; the man shall be kept in prison till the justices of gaol delivery come down, and meanwhile inquiry shall be made. Now, supposing that

[1] Regulations of 1313. "Munimenta Academica; or documents illustrative of academical life and studies at Oxford," edited by H. Anstey, London, 1868 (Rolls Series), vol. i. p. 91. The penalty was prison and the loss of the weapons.

[2] 5 Edward III. cap 14.

a stranger pass through the town by night; the constable arrests him, he imagines himself already in prison "till the justices come down," and he runs away instead of allowing himself to be taken. The statute has provided for this case.[1] "If they will not obey the arrest, hue and cry shall be levied upon them, and such as keep the watch shall follow with hue and cry with all the town, and the towns near, and so hue and cry shall be made from town to town until that they be taken and delivered to the sheriff." Singular picture! It is the middle of the night, the stranger is perhaps a robber, perhaps an honest man, who has lost his way, not knowing the town; his fault is that he was not within doors by the curfew; he gropes his way in the dark lanes; the watch perceives him and questions him, he reflects as we have imagined, and behold! the hue and cry begins, the watch runs, the town wakes up, lights appear, and one after the other the more zealous join in the pursuit. If the town is fortified, the postern gates have long been closed, and he will be surely taken. Scarcely can he hope to cast himself into some half-closed doorway at a turning of the street, behind which he may cower, listening with trembling hand and beating heart to the watch who pass heavily along at a charging pace, surrounded by a cloud of furious shouters. The number of steps lessen, and the shouts are less heard, then they die away, lost in the depths of the city.

But if the town is merely a market town or large straggling village, not enclosed by walls, the first thought of the fugitive will be to gain the open, and then he must not fear marshes, ditches, hedges; he must

[1] Statute of Winchester, 13 Ed. I. cap. 4.

know how, at a bend of the ground, to leave the high-road and to profit by any place where the Statute of Winchester may be negligently applied. Without that he is lost, the constables follow him, the town follows him, the "cry" continues, and at the next village the scene of the starting will begin over again. The inhabitants, warned by the clamour, light their lanterns, and see, they are already in chase. Before he reaches the end of the high-street some peasant will be found on the alert ready to bar him the passage of the road. All have an interest in it, all have been robbed, or their friends or relations; some one belonging to them may have been wounded, assassinated on the road as he returned from market. Every one has heard such misadventures spoken of, and feels himself personally menaced. Hence this zeal in joining the chase with the noise of the hue and cry, and the conviction that, running so hard and making so many folks run, the fugitive must be a famous brigand ready for the gibbet.[1]

[1] This power of running down the first comer was, like numberless laws of the time, at once a guarantee for the public safety and a dangerous arm in the hands of felons. Robbers used it, and it happened sometimes that they by this means imprisoned their own victim. Alisot, wife of Henry of Upatherle, sets forth to the king that her husband was made prisoner by the Scotch at the battle of Stirling, remained their captive more than a year, then returned after having paid forty pounds ransom. In his absence, Thomas of Upatherle and Robert of Prestbury seized on the fields which he possessed at Upatherle, divided them, pulled down the houses and acted as the owners, taking to their own houses all the property they could. The prisoner's return surprised them; as soon as they knew that he had re-appeared on his lands, "the said Thomas, by false agreement between him and the said Robert, raised hue and

cry on the said Henry and put upon him that he had robbed him [Thomas] of his chattels to the value of £100." They were believed; "the said Henry was taken and imprisoned in Gloucester castle for a long time," waiting for the coming of the justices, exactly as the statute said. Henry recovered his liberty in the end, and obtained a writ against his enemies; but they brought force and came to meet their victim, "and beat the said Henry in the town of Gloucester, that is they bruised his two arms, both his thighs, and both his legs, and his head on both sides, and quite wrecked and vilely treated his body, so that he barely escaped death." The king's reply is not satisfactory: "If the husband be alive, the plaint is his, if he be dead the wife's plaint is nothing." ("Rolls of Parliament," vol. ii. p. 35, A.D. 1330.)

PART II.

LAY WAYFARERS.

AN ADVENTURE SEEKER.
(*From the MS. 2 B.* vii.; *English; early Fourteenth Century.*)

INTRODUCTORY NOTE.

"*Qui ne s'adventure n'a cheval ni mule ce dist Salomon.—Qui trop s'adventure perd cheval et mule, respondit Malcon.*"
VIE DE GARGANTUA.

WE have seen the aspect and usual condition of English roads; we must take separately the principal types of the wandering class and see what sort of a life the wayfarer led, and what was his importance in society or in the State.

The wayfarers appertaining to civil life were, in the first place, drug-sellers, buffoons, glee-men, perambulating minstrels, and singers; then messengers, pedlars, and itinerant chapmen; lastly, the outlaws, thieves of all kinds, peasants out of bond, or jobbing workmen. To

ecclesiastic life belonged preachers, mendicant friars, and those strange dealers in indulgences who were called pardoners. Lastly there were pilgrims, whose object was religious, but in whose ranks, as in Chaucer's book, clerk and lay were mingled.

Many of these individuals, for instance the friars, had, it is true, a resting-place, but their existence was passed, for the greater part, on the roads; when they left their house their purpose was not to reach this or that place; they had no fixed itinerary, but spent their time in long rambles about the country, begging as they went. They had, in the long run, caught the manners and the language of true nomadic wayfarers, and in common opinion were generally confounded with them; they belonged to that caste or family of beings.

As for the strange race which we still see at the present day wandering from country to country, and which, later than any, will represent among us the caste of wanderers, it had not yet made its appearance in the British world, and we have nothing to do with it here. The Bohemians or Gipsies remained entirely unknown in England till the fifteenth century.

"THER WAS ALSO A DOCTOUR OF PHISIK" (CHAUCER'S DOCTOR).
(*From the Ellesmere MS.*)

CHAPTER I.

HERBALISTS, CHARLATANS, MINSTRELS, JUGGLERS, AND TUMBLERS.

THE most popular of all the wanderers were naturally the cheerfullest, or those who appeared to be the most beneficent. These latter were the folks with a universal panacea, very numerous in the Middle Ages ; they went about the world selling health. On days of off-work they established themselves in the village green, or the market place, spreading a carpet or a piece of cloth on the ground ; they displayed their drugs, and began to harangue the people. We

may hear at the present day the same kind of discourses as those they spoke in the fourteenth century in England, France, or Italy ; their profession is one that has changed less than any. In the thirteenth century the herbalist of Rutebeuf spoke like Ben Jonson's mountebank of the seventeenth century, like the charlatan who yesterday a hundred steps from our gates attracted the crowd to his platform. Big words, marvellous tales, praise of their noble and distant origin, enumeration of the extraordinary cures they have made, ostentatious display of an unbounded devotion to the public good, and of entire pecuniary disinterestedness : all this is found, and always will be found, in the talk of all these insinuating itinerants.

" My good friends," said Rutebeuf's medicinal herb-seller six hundred years ago, " I am not one of those poor preachers, nor one of those poor herbalists who stand in front of the churches with their miserable ill-sown cloak, who carry bags and boxes and spread out a carpet. Know that I am not one of these ; but I belong to a lady who is named Madame Trote of Salerno, who makes a kerchief of her ears, and whose eyebrows hang down as silver chains behind her shoulders : know that she is the wisest lady in all the four quarters of the world. My lady sends us into different lands and countries, into Apulia, into Calabria . . . into Burgundy, into the forest of Ardennes to kill wild beasts in order to extract good ointments from them, to give medicine to those who are ill in body. . . . And because she made me swear by the saints when I parted from her I will teach you the proper cure for worms, if you will listen. Will you listen ?

". . . Take off your caps, give ear, look at my herbs which my lady sends into this land and country; and because she wishes as well to the poor as to the rich, she told me that I should make pennyworths of them, for a man may have a penny in his purse who has not five pounds; and she told and commanded that I might take pence of the current coin in the country wherever I should come. . . .

"These herbs, you will not eat them; for there is no ox in this country, no charger, be he never so strong, which if he had a bit the size of a pea upon his tongue would not die a hard death, they are so strong and bitter. . . . You will put them three days to steep in good white wine; if you have no white take red, if you have no red wine take fine clear water, for many a man has a well before his door who has not a cask of wine in his cellar. If you breakfast from it for thirteen mornings you will be cured of your various maladies. . . . If my father and mother were in danger of death and they were to ask of me the best herb I could give them, I should give them this. This is how I sell my herbs and my ointments; if you want any, come and take them; if you don't want any, let them alone." [1]

This herbalist was one of those who were pursued in France and England by royal ordinances for the illegal practice of medicine. Phillippe the Fair in 1311, John the Good in 1352, had made severe decrees against them. They reproached them with being "ignorant of men's temperament, of the time and mode of administering, of the virtues of medicines, above all, of laxatives

[1] "Diz de l'erberie." "Œuvres complètes de Rutebeuf," Jubinal's edition, 1874, vol. ii. p. 58.

in which lies danger of death." These people "often come from abroad," go through the town and the suburbs, and venture to administer to the too confiding sick, "clisteria multum laxativa et alia eis illicita,"[1] with which the royal authority was justly indignant.

In England the itinerant drug-seller had no better reputation; the popular songs and satires always show them to us in the taverns on good terms with the worst society. To have an idea of what their recipes might be, we must recall what the medicine protected by the statutes of the kingdom was. We must remember that John of Gaddesden, court doctor under Edward II., got rid of the traces of the small-pox by wrapping the sick man in red cloths; he treated thus the heir to the throne himself.[2] He had for a long time been troubled how to cure stone: "at last," says he, in his "Rosa Anglica," "I thought of collecting a good quantity of those beetles which in summer are found in the dung of oxen, also of the crickets which sing in the fields. I cut off the heads and the wings of the crickets and put them with the beetles and common oil into a pot; I covered it and left it afterwards for a day and night in a bread oven. I drew out the pot and heated it at a moderate fire, I pounded the whole and rubbed

[1] Isambert, "Recueil Général des anciennes lois Françaises," vol. iii. p. 16, and iv. p. 676.

[2] "Let scarlet red be taken, and let him who is suffering small-pox be entirely wrapped in it or in some other red cloth; I did thus when the son of the illustrious King of England suffered from small-pox; I took care that all about his bed should be red, and that cure succeeded very well." (John of Gaddesden, otherwise "Joannis Anglici, praxis medica rosa anglica dicta." Augsburg, 1595, lib. ii. p. 1050.)

the sick parts ; in three days the pain had disappeared;" under the influence of the beetles and the crickets the stone was broken into bits.[1] It was almost always thus, by a sudden illumination, that this doctor discovered his most efficacious remedies : Madame Trote of Salerno never confided to her agents in various parts of the world the secret of more marvellous and unexpected recipes.

However, the law distinguished very clearly between a court physician and a cheapjack of the cross-ways. A Gaddesden had the support of an established reputation to apply his strange medicaments to his patients, and he offered the warranty of his high position. He had studied at Oxford, and he was an authority ; a serious physician like Chaucer's doctor, who had grown so rich during the plague, did not neglect reading and meditating his writings. Not having less knowledge, nor certainly less ingenuity, the wandering herbalist was less advantageously known : *he* could not, like the royal physician, rely on his good reputation to make his patients swallow glow-worms, rub them with beetles and crickets, or give them " seven heads of fat bats "[2] as a remedy; the legislator, therefore, took care to look after him. In the country, like most of the other wayfarers, the quack curer found means almost always to escape the rigour of the laws ; but woe to him if he attempted to try his cures publicly in the town. The unhappy Roger Clerk in 1381 found himself sued for the illegal practice of medicine in London, because he had wished to cure a woman by making her wear a certain parch-

[1] " Rosa Anglica," vol. i. p. 496.

[2] A remedy for diseases of the spleen (" Rosa Anglica ").

ment on her bosom. He was brought to the pillory "through the middle of the city, with trumpets and pipes," on a horse without a saddle, his parchment and a whetstone round his neck, other disgraceful signs were also hung round his neck and down his back, in token that he had lied.[1]

Uneasy at the increase of these abuses, Henry V. passed in 1421 an *Ordinance against the meddlers with physic and surgery*, "to get rid of the mischiefs and dangers which have long continued within the kingdom among the people by means of those who have used the arts and practice of physic and surgery, pretending to be well and sufficiently taught in the same arts, when of truth they are not so." Henceforth there would be severe punishments for all doctors who have not been approved in their arts, "that is to say, those of physic by the universities, and the surgeons by the masters of that art."[2] The irregularities were renewed, as bad as ever or little short of it. To give therefore more authority to medicine recognized by the State, Edward IV., in the first year of his reign, erected the Company of Barbers of London using the faculty of surgery into a corporation.[3]

The Renaissance came and found barbers, cheap-jacks, empirics, and sorcerers continuing to prosper on British soil. Henry VIII. declared it with regret, and

[1] "Memorials of London," documents relating to the thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth centuries, edited by H. Riley, London, 1868, p. 466.

[2] "Rolls of Parliament," 9 Hen. V., vol. iv. p. 130.

[3] Their charter of 1461 is given in Report and Appendix of the City Liveries' Commission, 1884, vol. iii. p. 74. [L. T. S.]

promulgated new rules. "The science and connyng of physyke and surgerie," said the king in his statute, "to the perfecte knowlege wherof bee requisite bothe grete lernyng and ripe experience, ys daily within this Royalme exercised by a grete multitude of ignoraunt persones, of whom the grete partie have no maner of insight in the same nor in any other kynde of lernyng; some also can no lettres on the boke, soofarfurth that common artificers, as smythes, wevers, and women boldely and custumably take upon theim grete curis and thyngys of great difficultie, in the which they partely use sorcery and which-crafte, partely applie such medicine unto the disease as be verey noyous and nothyng metely therfore, to the high displeasoure of God." [1]

Consequently, every one who may wish to practice in London or seven miles round, must previously submit to an examination before the bishop of the capital, or before the Dean of St. Paul's, assisted by four "doctors of phisyk." In the country the examination will take place before the bishop of the diocese or his vicar-general. In 1540, the same prince united the corporation of the barbers and the college of surgeons, and granted each year to the new association the bodies of four condemned criminals for the study of anatomy.

Hardly were all these privileges conceded than a complete revulsion took place in the mind of the legislators, and who, it may be wondered, did they regret? precisely those old unregistered quacks, those possessors of infallible secrets, those village empirics so hardly treated in the statute of 1511. A new law was

[1] Statute 3 Hen. VIII. cap. 11.

passed, which is but one long accusation against the authorized doctors; these certified doctors poison their clients as well as the old quacks, only they take more for it. "Mynding oonlie theyre owne lucres, and nothing the profite or ease of the diseased or patient, [they] have sued, troubled and vexed divers honest persones as well men as woomen, whome God hathe endued with the knowledge of the nature, kinde, and operacion of certeyne herbes, rotes, and waters, . . . and yet the saide persones have not taken anything for theyre peynes and cooning, but have mynistred the same to the poore people oonelie for neighbourhode and Goddes sake, and of pite and charytie; and it is nowe well knowen that the surgeons admytted wooll doo no cure to any persone, but where they shall knowe to be rewarded with a greater soome or rewarde than the cure extendeth unto, for in cace they wolde mynistre theyre coonning to sore people unrewarded, there shoulde not so manye rotte and perishe to deathe for lacke of helpe of surgerye as dailie doo." Besides, in spite of the examinations by the Bishop of London, "the most parte of the persones of the saide crafte of surgeons have small coonning;" this is why all the king's subjects who have "by speculacion or practyse" knowledge of the virtues of plants, roots, and waters, may as before, notwithstanding enactments to the contrary, cure all maladies apparent on the surface of the body, by means of plasters, poultices, and ointments "within any parte of the realme of Englande, or within any other the kinges dominions." [1]

The change, as we see, was radical; the secrets of the

[1] Statutes 32 Hen. VIII. cap. 42; 34 and 35 Hen. VIII. cap. 8.

villagers were no longer the secrets of sorcerers, they were precious recipes which they had received from God by intuition ; the poor, exposed to die without a doctor, rejoiced, the quacks breathed. Ben Jonson, that bold pedestrian who set out from London, stick in hand, and walked to Scotland for pleasure, who knew so well the usual attendants at English festivals, has left us the living portrait of a quack doctor, a portrait which is specifically that of a Venetian of the seventeenth century, but which still remains true to-day, and will be so for all countries in all time. Characters of this kind are almost immovable ; Jonson's hero is the same individual as he whose discourse Rutebeuf had picked up three centuries and a half earlier. Without a doubt, in his visits to Smithfield fair, the dramatist had heard many a cheap-jack call out with thrilling voice, his eyes turned to heaven, "O, health, health ! the blessing of the rich ! the riches of the poor ! who can buy thee at too dear a rate, since there is no enjoying this world without thee." Upon which, Jonson's orator makes game of his colleagues, boasts of his incomparable panacea, into which enters a little human fat, which is worth a thousand crowns, but which he will part with for eight crowns, no, for six, finally for sixpence. A thousand crowns is what the cardinals Montalto and Farnese and his friend the Grand Duke of Tuscany have paid him, but he despises money and he makes sacrifices for the people. Likewise he has a little of the powder which gave beauty to Venus and to Helen ; one of his friends, a great traveller, found it in the ruins of Troy and sent it him. This friend also sent a little of it to the French Court,

but that portion had become "sophisticated," and the ladies who use it do not obtain from it such good results.[1]

Three years later, an Englishman who did not know Jonson's comedy, finding himself at Venice, was filled with wonder at the talk of the Italian mountebanks, and thinking to give his countrymen fresh details on a race which flourishes more in that peninsula than in any country of Europe, drew from nature a portrait just like that which Shakespeare's friend had drawn. "Truely," wrote Coryat, "I often wondred at many of these natural orators. For they would tell their tales with such admirable volubility and plausible grace, even *extempore*, and seasoned with that singular variety of elegant jests and witty conceits, that they did often strike great admiration into strangers that never heard them before." They sell "oyles, soueraigne waters, amorous songs printed, apothecary drugs, and a common-weale of other trifles. . . . I saw one of them holde a viper in his hand, and play with his sting a quarter of an houre together, and yet receive no hurt. . . . He made us all beleeve that the same viper was lineally descended from the generation of that viper that lept out of the fire upon St. Paul's hand, in the island of Melita, now called Malta."[2]

No doubt the loquacity, the volubility, the instant conviction, the grace, the insinuating tone, the light, winged gaiety of the southern charlatan were not found

[1] "The Fox," Act II. sc. 1 (1605).

[2] "Coryat's Crudities," reprinted from the edition of 1611, London, 1776, vol. ii. pp. 50, 53. Coryat set out from Dover, 14 May, 1608.

so fully or so charmingly at the festivals of old England. These festivals were, however, joyous; they were much attended, and you met there many an artful character, jesting and as entertaining as Autolycus, that type of the pedlar and frequenter of all the country feasts, to whom Shakespeare has given a place in his gallery of immortals. The country labourers went in crowds to these meetings to suffer jests that were an amusement even to themselves, and to buy ointments which did them good: they are to be seen there still. At the present day in France, and in England also, the crowd still collects before the vendors of the remedies which infallibly cure toothache, and do away with other pains of lesser importance. Certificates abound all round the shop; it seems as though all the illustrious people in the world must have been benefited by the discovery; the tradesman now addresses himself to the rest of humanity. He speaks up, he gesticulates, he gets animated, leans over with a grave tone and a deep voice. The peasants press round, gaping with inquisitive eye, uncertain if they ought to laugh or to be afraid, and they finish by taking confidence. The purse is drawn out with an awkward air, the large hand fumbles in the new coat, the piece of money is held out and the medicine received, while the shining eye and undecided physiognomy say plainly enough that the cunning and the habitual practical sense are here at fault; that these good souls, clever and invincible in their own domain, are the victims of every one in an unknown land. The vendor bestirs himself, and now, as formerly, triumphs over indecision by means of direct appeals.

In England we should choose the incomparable Goose

Fair at Nottingham as the place to see these spectacles; they shine there in all their infinite variety; we may there ascertain that the quacks of to-day have lost no great amount of their hereditary raciness; there, of all places and occasions, the fact may be recognized that English people are not invariably lost in their thoughts, as they have been constantly described from the time of St. Evremond downwards; for on that day of folly and inconceivable liberty may be seen in action Rubens' great "Kermesse" at the Louvre, albeit illuminated by a very different light.

Greater still was the popularity, in the Middle Ages, of the wayfarers who came not to cure, but simply to amuse the crowd, who, if they did not bring remedies for diseases, at least brought forgetfulness of troubles; these were the minstrels, the performers of feats, jugglers, and singers. Minstrels and *jongleurs*,[1] under different names, exercised the same profession, that is, they chanted out songs and romances to the accompaniment of their instruments. At a time when books were rare, and when the theatre, properly so called, did not exist, poetry and music travelled with the minstrels and gleemen along the highway; such guests were always welcome. We find these wayfarers at every feast; in all festivities, wherever there was to be rejoicing; it was expected from them as from wine or beer, that care would be lulled to sleep, that they would bring joy and forgetfulness. They set about it in several ways; the most respected consisted in

[1] I translate this word by glee-man, which is perhaps the best English equivalent of the early *jongleur* before he degenerated into the juggler. [L. T. S.]

singing and reciting, some in French, others in English, the exploits of ancient heroes.

This was a grand part to play, one held in much reverence; the glee-men or minstrels who presented themselves at the castle with their heads full of warlike stories, or tales of love, or lively songs made but for laughter, were received with the highest favour. On their arrival they announced themselves without by cheerful airs which were heard at the end of the hall; soon came the order to bring them in; they were ranged at the bottom of the hall, and all gave ear to them.[1] They gave a prelude on their instruments, and then began to sing. Like Taillefer at the battle of Hastings, they related the prowess of Charlemagne and of Roland, or they spoke of Arthur or of the heroes of the wars of Troy, uncontested ancestors of the Britons of England:

[1] Horn and his companions, in the romance of "King Horn," disguise themselves as minstrels, and present themselves at the gate of Rymenhild's castle:

"Hi yeden bi the grauel
Toward the castel,
Hi gunne murie singe
And makede here gleowinge.
Rymenhild hit gan ihere
And axede what hi were:
Hi sede, hi weren harpurs,
And sume were gigours.
He dude Horn inn late
Right at halle gate,
He sette him on a benche
His harpe for to clenche."

("King Horn," ed. J. R. Lumby, Early English Text Society, 1866, l. 1465.)

"Men lykyn jestis for to here,
And romans rede in diuers manere
Of Alexandre the conqueroure,
Of Julius Cesar the emperoure,
Of Grece and Troy the strong stryf,
There many a man lost his lyf,
Of Brute that baron bold of hond
The first conquerour of Englond,
Of kyng Artour that was so riche,
Was non in his tyme him liche.

* * * * *

How kyng Charlis and Rowlond fawght
With sarzyns nold they be cawght,
Of Tristrem and of Ysoude the swete
How they with love first gan mete,
Of kyng John and of Isombras,
Of Ydoyne and of Amadas,
Stories of diuerce thynggis
Of pryncis, prelatis, and of kynggis,
Many songgis of diuers ryme,
As english, frensh, and latyne."[1]

In the fourteenth century most of these old romances, heroic, rude, powerful, or touching, had been re-cast and put into new language; florid descriptions, complicated adventures, extraordinary marvels had been added to them; many had been put into prose, and instead of being sung they were read.[2] The lord listened with pleasure, and his taste, which had become more and more palled, permitted him to find a charm in the

[1] "Cursor Mundi," a Northumbrian poem of the fourteenth century, edited by R. Morris for the Early English Text Society, vol. v. p. 1651 and vol. i. p. 8. See Appendix XI.

[2] It began to be customary to read aloud the verses also, instead of singing them. Chaucer foresees that his poem of "Troilus"

strange entanglements with which each event was henceforth enveloped. He now lived in a more complex life than formerly; being more civilized he had more wants, and simple and monotonous pictures in poems like the Song of Roland, were no longer made to caress his imagination. The heroes of romance found harder and harder tasks imposed upon them, and were obliged to triumph over the most marvellous enchantments. Beyond this, as the hand became lighter the painting had more refinement; pleasure was taken in their amorous adventures, and, as far as might be, that charm, at once mystic and sensual, was given to them of which the sculptured figures of the fourteenth century have preserved so deep a mark. The author of "Sir Gawayne" finds extreme pleasure in describing the visits which his knight receives,[1] in painting his lady, so gentle, so pretty, with easy motions and gay smile; he gives all his care to it, all his soul; he finds words which seem caresses, and verses which shine with a golden gleam.

These already frequent pictures of the thirteenth century multiplied still more in the fourteenth, but at the end of this last century they were displaced and

may be indifferently read or sung, and he writes, addressing his book:

> "So preye I to God, that non myswrite the,
> Ne the mys-metere, for defaute of tonge!
> And red wher so thow be, or elles songe,
> That thow be understonde, God I beseche!"
>
> ("Troilus," book v. 1, 1809.)

1 "Sir Gawayne and the Green Knight," ed. R. Morris, Early English Text Society, 1864, pp. 38, *et seq.*

passed from the romance into the tale, or into poems, half tale, half romance, such as the "Troilus" of Chaucer. After many transformations the romance was on the way to be lost among the new styles which better suited the genius of the hour. A hundred years earlier such a man as Chaucer would no doubt have taken up the Arthur legends in his turn, and would have written some magnificent romance for the minstrels; but he left us tales and lyric poems because he comprehended that taste had changed, that people were still curious but not enthusiastic about old heroic stories, that few any longer followed them passionately to the end, and that they were made more the ornament of libraries than the subject of daily thought.[1] Thenceforward men liked to find separately in ballads and tales the lyric breath and the spirit of observation which formerly was contained in the romances; these, abandoned to the less expert rhymers of the highways, became such wretched copies of the old originals that they were the laughing-stock of people of sense and taste.

[1] Brilliantly illuminated manuscripts multiplied, they were sought and very well paid for. Edward III. bought, in 1331, of Isabella of Lancaster, nun of Aumbresbury, a book of romance for which he paid her £66 13s. 4d., which was an enormous sum. When the king had this book he kept it in his own room (Devon's "Issues of the Exchequer," 1837, p. 144). Richard II. (ibid. 213) bought a bible in French, a "Roman de la Rose," and a "Roman de Perceval" for £28. To give an idea of these prices we must recall, for example, that a few years (1328) before Edward bought his book of romance, the inhabitants of London entered in the City accounts £7 10s. for ten oxen, £4 for twenty pigs, and £6 for twenty-four swans, which they had given to the king (Riley's "Memorials of London," 1868, p. 170).

Thus many of the grand French epics were abridged and put into skipping or barren English verse. For them the fine age was passed; when Chaucer, in company with his pilgrims came, in his turn, to relate, with a sly look, the deeds of Sir Thopas, popular good sense represented by the host revolted, and the recital was rudely interrupted. Yet from Sir Thopas to many of the romances which ran the streets or were repeated by the singers from place to place the distance is small, and the parody which amuses us was hardly anything but a close imitation. Robert Thornton, in the first half of the fifteenth century, copied a good number of these romances from older texts. In turning them over we are struck by the excellence of Chaucer's jesting and by the closeness of his parody. These poems all unfold after one and the same pattern, smart and sprightly without much thought or much sentiment; the cadenced stanzas march on, clear, easy, and empty; no constraint, no effort; you may open and close the book without a sigh, without regret, without exactly being wearied, but yet without much caring about anything in it. And passing chance-wise from one romance to another, it seems much the same. Take no matter which, "Sir Isumbras" for example; after a prayer recited for form's sake, the rhymer cries up the valour of the hero, then praises a valuable virtue which he possessed, his love for the minstrels and his generosity towards them:

"He luffede glewmene well in haulle
He gafe thame robis riche of palle
Bothe of golde and also fee;
Of curtasye was he kynge,
Of mete and drynke no nythynge,
On lyfe was none so fre."

Isumbras, his wife, and his son, have unique qualities; he is the most valiant of knights, his wife the most lovely of women:

"I wille yow telle of a knyghte
That bothe was stalworthe and wyghte,
And worthily undir wede;
His name was hattene syr Ysambrace."

So is also Sir Eglamour:

"Y shalle telle yow of a knyght
That was bothe hardy and wyght,
And stronge in eche a stowre."

Exactly the same, Sir Degrevant:

"And y schalle karppe off a knyght
That was both hardy and wyght,
Sire Degrevaunt that hend hyght,
That dowghty was of dede."[1]

Not inferior to any of them is Chaucer's Sir Thopas:

". . . I wol telle verrayment
Of myrthe and of solas,
Al of a knyght was fair and gent
In batail and in tornament,
His name was Sir Thopas."

[1] The "Thornton Romances," edited by J. O. Halliwell for the Camden Society, pp. 88, 121, 177. The romances published in this volume are, "Perceval," "Isumbras," "Eglamour," and "Degrevant"; the longest scarcely occupies 3,000 lines, "Isumbras" not 1,000. The manuscript, which is at Lincoln Cathedral, is a collection containing many other romances, especially a "Life of Alexander," a "Mort d'Arthur," an "Octavian," and a "Diocletian," to say nothing of numerous prayers in verse, recipes to cure toothache, prophecies of weather, &c.

Thus, when not stopped short by mine host of the "Tabard," the minstrel slightly varies the airs for us on his viol, but it is always the same instrument, and the feeble sound which issues from it gives a monotonous family character to all his songs.

But the noble had few better distractions ; the theatre did not yet exist ; at long intervals only, when the great yearly feasts came round, the knight might go, in company with the crowd, to see Pilate and Jesus on the boards. There he found not only the crowd but sometimes the king also. Richard II., for example, was present at a religious play or mystery in the fourteenth year of his reign, and had ten pounds distributed among several clerks of London who had played before him at Skinnerwell "the play of the Passion and of the creation of the world." [1] A few years later he was present at the famous York plays, at the feast of Corpus Christi, which were played in the streets of that city.[2] The rest of his time the knight was only too happy to receive at home men who had such vast memory, who knew more verse and more music than could be heard in one day.

The king also greatly liked their coming. We find that he had them sometimes brought up to him in his very chamber, where he was pleased to sit and hear their music. Edward II. received four minstrels in his chamber at Westminster and heard their songs, and when they went he ordered twenty ells of cloth to be

[1] "Issues of the Exchequer," p. 244.

[2] "Extracts from the Municipal Records of the City of York," by Rob. Davies, London, 1843, p. 230.

given them for their reward.[1] In those days no one thought of rejoicing without minstrels; there were four hundred and twenty-six musicians or singers at the marriage of the Princess Margaret, daughter of Edward I.[2] Edward III. gave a hundred pounds to those who were present at the marriage of his daughter Isabella,[3] some of them figured also at his tournaments.[4] When a bishop went on his pastoral rounds he was sometimes greeted by minstrels, hired on purpose to cheer him; they were of necessity chosen among local artists, who were apt at fiddling cheap music to his lordship. Bishop Swinfield, in one of his rounds, gave a penny a piece to two minstrels who had just played before him; but on another occasion he distributed twelve pence a piece.[5]

When gentlemen of importance were travelling they had sometimes the pleasure of hearing minstrels when they reached the inn, and in that manner whiled away the long empty evenings. In the curious manual already quoted, called "La manière de langage," composed in French by an Englishman of the fourteenth century, we see that the traveller of distinction listens to the musicians at the inn, and mingles his voice if need be with their music: "Then," says our author, "come forward into the lord's presence the trumpeters

[1] Wardrobe Accounts—"Archæologia," vol. xxvi. p. 342.

[2] Thomas Wright, "Domestic Manners and Sentiments," 1862, p. 181.

[3] 40 Ed. III., Devon's "Issue Rolls of the Exchequer," p. 188.

[4] See two examples of like cases in the introduction to the "Issue Roll of Thomas de Brantingham," p. xxxix.

[5] "Roll of Household Expenses of Richard de Swinfield, Bishop of Hereford," ed. J. Webb, Camden Society, 1854-55, vol. i. pp. 152, 155.

and horn-blowers with their frestels (pipes) and clarions, and begin to play and blow very loud, and then the lord with his squires begin to move, to sway, to dance, to utter and sing fine carols till midnight without ceasing."[1]

In great houses minstrels' music was the usual seasoning of meals. At table there are only two amusements, says Langland, in his great satire: to listen to the minstrels, and, when they are silent, to talk religion and to scoff at its mysteries.[2] The repasts which Sir Gawain takes at the house of his host the Green Knight are seasoned with songs and music. On the second day which Gawain spends with the Green Knight the amusement extends till after supper; they listen during the meal and after it to many noble songs, such as Christmas carols and new songs, with all possible mirth:

> "Mony athel songez,
> As coundutes of kryst-masse, and carolez newe,
> With all the manerly merthe that mon may of telle."

On the third day,

> "With merthe and mynstralsye, with metez at hor wylle,
> Thay maden as mery as any men moghten."[3]

In Chaucer's "Squire's Tale" the King Cambynskan gives a

> "Feste so solempne and so riche
> That in this worlde ne was ther noon it liche."

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[1] Ed. P. Meyer, in "Revue Critique," vol. x. (1870), p. 373.

[2] "Piers Plowman," Text C, pass. xii. ll. 35–39.

[3] "Sir Gawayne and the Green Knight," ed. R. Morris, Early English Text Society, 1864, ll. 484, 1652–1656, and 1952. In the same manner Arthur, after an exploit by Gawain, sits down to table "Wythe alle maner of mete and mynstralcie bothe"

and we see this prince sitting after the third course among his nobles listening to the music,

> " That so bifelle after the thridde cours,
> Whil that the kyng sit thus in his nobleye,
> Herkyng his mynstrales her thinges pleye
> Byforn him atte boord deliciously. . . ."

During all these meals it is true the sound of the viol, the voice of the singers, the "delicious things" of the minstrels, were interrupted by the crunching of the bones which the dogs were gnawing under the tables, or by the sharp cry of some ill-bred falcon; for many lords during dinner kept these favourite birds on a perch behind them. Their masters, enjoying their presence, were indulgent with the liberties they took.

The minstrels of Cambynskan are represented as attached to his person; those belonging to the King of England had the same permanent functions. The sovereign was seldom without them, and even when he went abroad was accompanied by them. Henry V. engaged eighteen, who were to follow him to Guyenne and elsewhere.[1] Their chief is sometimes called *king* or *marshal* of the minstrels.[2] On May 2, 1387,

[1] "This indenture, made 5 June in the 3rd year of our sovereign lord King Henry the fifth since the Conquest, witnesseth that John Clyff, minstrel, and 17 other minstrels, have received from our said lord the king, through Thomas, Earl of Arundel and Surrey, treasurer of England, forty pounds as their wages, to each of them 12d. a day for a quarter of a year, for serving our said lord in the parts of Guyenne or elsewhere" (Rymer's "Fœdera," ed. 1704–32, year 1415, vol. ix. p. 260).

[2] The chief of the minstrels of Beverley was called *alderman*. [L. T. S.]

Richard II. gave a passport to John Caumz (? Camuz), "rex ministrallorum nostrorum," who was setting out for a journey beyond the sea.[1] On January 19, 1464, Edward IV. grants a pension of ten marks "to our beloved Walter Haliday, marshall of our minstrels."[2] The Roll of Thomas Brantingham, treasurer to Edward III., bears frequent mention of royal minstrels, to whom a fixed salary of sevenpence-halfpenny a day is paid.[3] King Richard II. had in the same manner minstrels in his pay, and enjoyed their music when travelling. When he went for the last time to Ireland he had to wait for ten days at Milford on account of contrary winds. A French gentleman named Créton, who was with him, and who wrote afterwards a most interesting account of what befell the unfortunate king during the last year of his reign, states in his chronicle that the time was merrily passed at Milford while the contrary winds lasted, and that day and night they had music and songs of minstrels.[4]

The richest nobles naturally imitated the king, and

[1] "Fœdera," year 1387, vol. vii. p. 555. In Sir John Hawkins' "History of Music," London, 1853, vol. i. p. 193, John of Gaunt's charter to the king of his minstrels in Tutbury, dated 4 Richard II., is given at length. [L. T. S.]

[2] "Fœdera," year 1464, vol. xi. p. 512.

[3] "Issue Roll of Thos. de Brantingham," ed. Devon, pp. 54–57 and 296–298. These pensions were granted for life.

[4] "Là feumes nous en joie et en depport
Dix jours entiers, atendant le vent nort
Pour nous partir.
Mainte trompette y povoit on oir
De jour, de nuit, menestrelz retentir"
(M.S. Harl. 1319, in the British Museum, printed in "Archæologia," vol. xx. p. 297.)

had their own companies,[1] who went away to play when occasion presented itself. The accounts of Winchester College under Edward IV. show that this college recompensed the services of minstrels belonging to the king, the Earl of Arundel, Lord de la Ware, the Duke of Gloucester, the [Earl] of Northumberland, and the Bishop of Winchester ; these last often recur. In the same accounts in the time of Henry IV. we find mention of the expenses occasioned by the visit of the Countess of Westmoreland, accompanied by her suite. Her minstrels formed part of it, and a sum of money was bestowed on them.[2]

Their services were great, and they were well paid ; for their touched-up, mutilated, unrecognizable poems might certainly shock persons of taste, but not the mass of enriched fighters, who could pay the passing minstrel and grant him profitable favours. Wandering singers seldom came to a castle where they did not get gifts of cloaks, furred robes, good meals, and money. Langland often returns to these largesses, which proves that they were considerable, and he regrets that all this gold was not distributed to the poor who go from door to door like these itinerants, and are the minstrels of God :

[1] So also the mayors of many towns had their minstrels or waits, and money allowed for them. For instance, Bristol and Norwich (fifteenth century), "English Gilds," pp. 423, 447 ; York, R. Davies' "Extracts from York Records," 1843, p. 14, *note*. [L. T. S.]

[2] Warton's "History of English Poetry," Hazlitt's edition, 1871, ii. p. 98. Langland also notices the good reception which was given to the king's minstrels when they were travelling, in order to please their master, who was known to be sensible of these marks of good will.

" Clerkus and knyghtes welcometh kynges mynstrales
And for loue of here lordes lithen hem at festes :
Much more, me thenketh, riche men auhte
Haue beggers by-fore hem, whiche beth godes mynstrales." [1]

But his good advice was not heeded. As long as there was the old hall in the castles, the great room where all the meals were taken in common, the minstrels were admitted to it. In building these halls the architect reckoned on the necessity for their presence, and arranged a gallery in which the musicians were established to play on their instruments, above the door of entrance, opposite to the daïs, the place where the master's table was set.[2] The custom of building such a gallery long survived the Middle Ages. At Hatfield a minstrels' gallery of the seventeenth century adorns the hall of that splendid place, and is still put to the use it was originally intended for.

The classic instrument of the minstrel was the vielle a kind of violin or fiddle with a bow, something like ours, a drawing of which, such as it was used in the thirteenth century, is to be found in the album of Villard de Honnecourt.[3] It was delicate of handling, and required much skill; thus, in proportion as the profession lowered, the good performer on the vielle became rarer; the common tambourine, which any one

[1] "Piers Plowman," Text C, pass. viii. l. 97.

[2] See a drawing of such a gallery in a miniature reproduced by Eccleston, "Introduction to English Antiquities;" London, 1847, p. 221. To the sound of the minstrels' music four wild men or mummers are dancing with contortions; sticks lie on the ground, no doubt for their exercises; a barking dog is jumping between them.

[3] "Album de Villard de Honnecourt," edited by Lassus and Darcel, 1858, plate L.

might learn to use in a little time, replaced the vielle, and true artists complained of the music and the taste of the day. It was a tambourine that the glee-man of Ely wore at his neck when he had that dialogue with the King of England, which proved so unsatisfactory for the monarch: "He came thence to London; in a meadow he met the king and his suite; around his neck hung his tabor, painted with gold and rich azure." [1]

PLAYING UPON THE VIELLE. (*From the MS.* 10 *E. IV.; English; early Fourteenth Century.*)

The minstrels played yet other instruments, the harp, the lute, the guitar, the bag-pipes, the rota (a kind of small harp, the ancient instrument of the Celtic people), and others.[2]

The presents, the favour of the great, rendered the lot of the minstrels very enviable; they therefore multiplied exceedingly, and the competition was great. In the fifteenth century, the king's minstrels, clever and able men, protested to their master against the increasing audacity of the false minstrels, who deprived them of the greater part of their revenues. "Uncultured peasants," said the king, who adopted the cause of his own men, "and workmen

[1] "Si vint de sà Loundres; en un prée
Encontra le roy e sa meisnée;
Entour son col porta soun tabour,
Depeynt de or e riche azour."

("Le roi d'Angleterre et le jongleur d'Ely," edited with "La riote du monde," by Francisque Michel, Paris, 1834, p. 28.)

[2] At Exeter Cathedral may be seen many of the musical instru-

Cittern. *Bagpipe.* *Clarion.* *Rebec.* *Psaltery.* *Syrinx.* *Sackbut.* *Regals.* *Gittern.* *Shalm.* *Timbrel.* *Cymbals.*

THE MINSTRELS' GALLERY AT EXETER.

(*Fourteenth Century*).

[*p.* 203.

of different trades in our kingdom of England have passed themselves off as minstrels; some have worn our livery, which we did not grant to them, and have even given themselves out to be our own minstrels." Thanks to these guilty practices they extorted much money from the subjects of His Majesty, and although they had no understanding nor experience of the science, they went from place to place on festival days and gathered all the profits which should have enriched the true artists, those who had devoted themselves entirely to their profession, and did not exercise any low trade.

The king, to raise his servitors above all others, authorized them to reconstitute and consolidate the old gild of minstrels, and no one could henceforth exercise this profession, whatever were his talent, if he had not been admitted into the gild. Lastly, a power of inquiry was granted to the members of the society, and they were to have the right of putting all false minstrels under a fine.[1]

ments which were used in the fourteenth century, sculptured in the "Minstrels' Gallery," where a series of angels are performing, reproduced above. The instruments they use have been identified by M. Carl Engel as being: the cittern, the bagpipe, the clarion, the rebec, the psaltery, the syrinx, the sackbut, the regals, the gittern, the shalm, the timbrel, the cymbals. (Carl Engel, "Musical Instruments," South Kensington Museum Art Handbook, p. 113), [The duties of the court minstrels of Edward IV. are declared in the Black Book of the Orders of that king's household (Harl. MS. 610, fol. 23), and their instruments are enumerated; "some vse trumpetts, some shalmes, some small pipes, some are stringe-men." L. T. S.]

[1] The Charter (taken from Patent Roll of Ed. IV. pt. 1, m. 17) is given in Rymer, April 24, 1469. It has many of the pro-

We recognize in this patent one of those radical decisions by which sovereign authority in the Middle Ages believed it could arrest all the currents contrary to its own tendencies, and destroy all abuses. In the same manner, and without any better success, the price of bread and the wage for a day's labour were lowered by statute.

The authorities had, besides, other reasons for watching over the singers and itinerant musicians; while they showed indulgence to the bands attached to the persons of the great, they feared the rounds made by the others, and sometimes took heed to the doctrines which they went about sowing under colour of songs. These doctrines were very liberal, and even at times went so far as to recommend revolt. There was an example of this at the beginning of the fifteenth century when, in full war against the Welsh, the Commons in Parliament denounced the minstrels of that race, as fomentors of trouble and even as causes of rebellion. Evidently their political songs encouraged the insurgents to resistance; and parliament, who bracketed them with

visions of the usual gild character, setting the members under the government of a marshal and two wardens, and was attached to St. Paul's Cathedral, London, by its religious side. The society was restored again in the seventeenth century, and expired in 1679. (Hawkins, "History of Music," vol. ii. p. 698.) There was also a famous gild of minstrels at Beverley of very ancient date, ruling the minstrels between the rivers Trent and Tweed. (See Pou.son's "Beverlac," London, 1829, p. 302.) The minstrels of Chester had special privileges. (Hawkins i. p. 191.) The ordinances of a gild of minstrels at York officially recorded in 1561 still exist ("York Plays," Oxford, 1885, pp. xxxviii note, 125 note); and of another at Canterbury in 1526. (W. Welfitt's "Extracts from Canterbury Records," No. xxi.) [L. T. S.]

ordinary vagabonds, knew well that in having them arrested on the roads, it was not simple cut-purses whom it sent to prison. "*Item:* That no westours and rimers, minstrels or vagabonds, be maintained in Wales to make kymorthas or quyllages on the common people, who by their divinations, lies, and exhortations are partly cause of the insurrection and rebellion now in Wales. *Reply:* Le roy le veut."[1]

Great popular movements were the occasion for satirical songs against the lords, songs composed by the minstrels and soon known by heart among the crowd. It was a popular song, doubtless very often repeated in the villages, which furnished to John Ball the text for his great speech at Blackheath in the revolt of 1381:

> "When Adam delved and Eve span
> Who was then the gentleman?"

Again, under Henry VI., when the peasants of Kent rose, and their allies the sailors took and beheaded the Duke of Suffolk at sea, a satirical song then made was very popular and has come down to us. As before killing him they gave a mock trial to the king's favourite, so in this song they play the comedy of his funeral; nobles and prelates are invited to it to sing their responses, and in this pretended funeral service, which is a hymn of joy and triumph, the singer calls down heavenly blessings on the murderers. At the end the Commons are represented coming in their turn to sing a *Requeiscat in pace* over all English traitors.[2]

The renown of the popular insurgent of the

[1] "Rolls of Parliament," iii. p. 508, A.D. 1402.
[2] See Appendix XII.

twelfth century, the outlaw Robin Hood, continually increased. His virtues were sung; it was told how this pious man, who, even in the greatest danger, waited till mass was over before getting into a place of safety, boldly robbed great lords and high prelates, but was merciful to the poor;[1] which was an indirect notice to the brigands of the time of the need to discern in their rounds between the tares and the wheat.

The sympathy of the minstrels for ideas of emancipation, which had made such great progress in the fourteenth century, was not only evinced in songs; these ideas were even found in the altered romances which they recited in presence of the lords, and which henceforth were full of pompous declarations on the equality of men. But on this point the hearer took little offence; the poets of a higher order, the favourites of the upper classes, the king himself in his official acts liking to proclaim liberal truths which it was hardly expected would be required to be put in practice; and they had accustomed society at large to this. Thus Chaucer celebrates in his most eloquent verse the only true nobility in his eyes, that which comes from the heart.[2] Thus also King Edward I., on summoning the first true English

[1] The ballads touching Robin Hood were collected by J. Ritson; "Robin Hood Ballads," London, second edition, 1832. The great majority of the songs that have come down to us on this hero are unfortunately only of the sixteenth century, but there are a few of earlier date; his popularity in the fourteenth century was very great. See "Piers Plowman," Skeat's edition, Text B, p. v. l. 79.

[2] "The Wyf of Bathes Tale" (sixty-eight lines on the equality of men and on nobility); again, in the "Parson's Tale," "Eek for to pride him of his gentrie is ful gret folye . . . we ben alle of oon fader and of oon moder; and alle we ben of oon nature

parliament in 1295, declared that he did so inspired by the old maxim which prescribes that what concerns all should be approved by all, and proclaimed a principle whence have since issued the most radical reforms of society.[1]

Such direct appeals from the king to his people contributed early to develop among the English the sense of duty, of political rights and responsibilities. In one of his necessities, at a time when parliament scarcely yet existed, this led him to explain his conduct to the people and to justify himself: "The king about this, and about his estate and as to his kingdom, and how the business of the kingdom has come to nothing, makes known and wishes that all should know the truth of it; which ensues," &c.[2]

In France the proclamations of very liberal principles are frequent in royal edicts, but these fine words are but a decoy, and the trouble to dissimulate is hardly taken. Louis X. in his ordinance of July 2, 1315, declares that "as according to the law of nature every one is born

roten and corrupt, bothe riche and pore" (R. Morris' edition of "Canterbury Tales," vol. ii. pp. 240, 241; vol. iii. p. 301). Compare also these lines of a French piece of the same century (quoted in the discourse upon the state of letters in the fourteenth century, "Histoire Littéraire de la France," vol. xxiv. p. 236):

> "Nus qui bien face n'est vilains,
> Mès de vilonie est toz plains
> Hauz hom qui laide vie maine:
> Nus n'est vilains s'il ne vilaine."

[1] "Sicut lex justissima, provida circumspectione sacrorum principum stabilita hortatur et statuit ut quod omnes tangit ab omnibus approbetur, sic," &c. (Rymer's "Fœdera," year 1295, vol. ii. p. 689).

[2] "Fœdera," year 1297, vol. ii. p. 783.

free," he has resolved to enfranchise the serfs on his own estates, but he adds that he will do it for money; and three days afterwards, fearing that his benefit is not sufficiently prized, he adds practical considerations with which philosophy is mingled in a strange manner. "It may be that some, ill-advised and in default of good counsel, may tend in ignorance of such great benefit and favour to wish rather to remain in the baseness of servitude than to come to free estate: wherefore we order and commit to you that for the aid of our present war you levy on certain persons according to the amount of their property, and the conditions of servitude of each one, as much and sufficiently as the condition and riches of those persons may bear and as the necessity of our war may require." [1]

Well then might the minstrels follow the king himself in repeating axioms so well known, and which according to appearance there was so little chance of seeing carried out. Only, ideas, like seeds of trees falling on the soil, are not lost, and the noble who had fallen asleep to the murmur of verses chanted by the glee-man waked up one day to the tumult of the crowd collected before London, to the refrain of the priest John Ball; and then he had to draw his sword and show by a massacre that the time was not yet come to apply these axioms, and that there was nothing in them but songs.

Poets and popular singers had thus an influence over the social movement, less through the maxims scattered over their great works than by those little wild pieces, struck off on the moment, which the least of them composed and sung for the people, on the cross-roads

[1] Isambert's "Recueil," vol. iii. pp. 102, 104.

in time of rebellion, in the cottages in ordinary times, as a reward for hospitality.

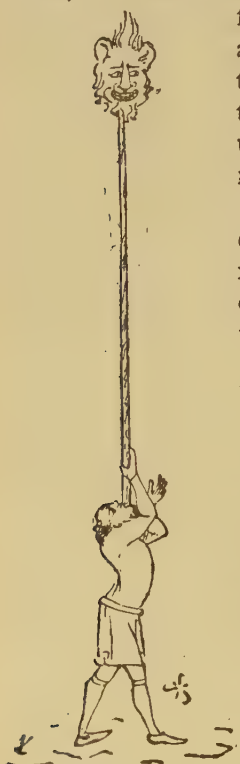
Minstrels, however, were to disappear. In the first place, an age was beginning when books and the art of reading spreading among the people in general, every one might search them for himself and would cease to have them recited; in the second place, the public theatres were about to offer a spectacle much superior to that of the little troops of musicians and wandering singers, and would compete with them more strongly than the "rude husbandmen and artificers of various crafts," against whose impertinence Edward IV. was indignant. Lastly, public contempt, which was increasing, would leave the minstrels abounding indeed, but beneath the notice of the higher classes, then to be lost in the lowest ranks of caterers to public amusement, and finally to disappear.

In fact, the period of the Taillefers who would go to death in the fight while singing of Charlemagne was a short one; the lustre which the jongleurs or trouvères of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, who confined themselves to the recitation of poems, had shed on their profession, was effaced in proportion as they associated themselves more closely with the unrestrained bands of tumblers, jugglers, leaders of performing bears, conjurors, and ribalds of all kinds.[1]

These bands had always existed, but the singers

[1] "There saugh I pleyen jugelours,
Magiciens and tregetours,
And phitonisses, charmeresses,
Olde wiches, sorceresses
That use exorsisaciouns
And eke thes fumygaciouns."
(Chaucer's "House of Fame," l. 169.)

of romances had not always joined them. At all times, in castles and at the fairs, there were to be found buffoons, whose coarseness astonished and enchanted the spectators. The precise details which the contemporaries unanimously give upon their amusements show that not only their witticisms would not be tolerated among the rich of to-day, but that there are even few retired villages where the peasants on a festival would accept them without disgust. However repugnant may be this thought, it must be noted that these pastimes were customary, that the great found pleasure in them, that in the troup of mummers and tumblers who went about wherever mirth was wanted, there were some who excited laughter by the ignoble means which John of Salisbury describes.[1] Two hundred years later, two sacrilegious clerks, out of hate to the Archbishop of York, gave themselves up to the same monstrous buffooneries in his cathedral, and the episcopal letter which relates these facts with the precision of an official report adds that they were committed *more ribaldorum*.[2]



A FOURTEENTH CENTURY JUGGLER. (*From the MS.* 10 *E. IV.*)

[1] See "Polycraticus," lib. i. chap. viii.

[2] "Historical Papers from the Northern Registers," ed. Raine, Rolls Series, p. 398. Cf. Bodl. MS. 264, fos. 21, 51, 56, 91, &c.

The usage of them was perpetuated owing to their success, and had remained popular. Langland, at the same epoch, shows that one of his personages is not a true minstrel, not only because he is not a musician, but also because he is not clever at any of these exercises of such strange coarseness.[1]

The greater was the feast, the coarser seem to have been sometimes the attitude and the songs of the minstrels. The time of Christmas was especially noted for the liberties they took. Thomas Gascoigne, in the sort of theological dictionary which he has left, warmly recommends to his readers to abstain from hearing such Christmas songs, for they leave on the mind images and ideas which it is almost impossible afterwards to wash out. He adds as a warning the story of a man he knew. 'I have known," says he, "I, Gascoigne, Doctor in, Divinity, who am writing this book, a man who had heard at Christmas some of those shameful songs. It so happened that the shameful things he had heard had made such a deep impression on his mind that he could never in after time get rid of those remembrances nor wipe away those images. So he fell into such a deep melancholy that at length it proved deadly to him." [2]

We may see also by the representations of the dance of Herodias which are found in the stained glass or the

[1] "Ich can nat tabre ne trompe ne telle faire gestes,
Farten ne fithelen at festes, ne harpen,
Japen ne jogelen ne gentelliche pipe,
Nother sailen ne sautrien ne singe with the giterne."
("Piers Plowman," ed. Skeat, Text C, passus xvi. l. 205.)

[2] "*Loci e libro veritatum;* Passages selected from Gascoigne's Theological Dictionary" (1403–48), ed. Thorold Rogers, Oxford, 1881, p. 144.

manuscripts of the Middle Ages what sort of games might amuse persons at table, in the opinion of the artists. It is by dancing on her hands, her head downwards, that the young woman gains the suffrages of Herod. Now, as the idea of such a dance could not be drawn from the Bible, we must believe that it arose from the customs of the time. At Clermont-Ferrand, in the stained glass of the cathedral (thirteenth century),

FAVOURITE DANCES IN MEDIÆVAL ENGLAND.
(*From the MS.* 10 *E. IV.*)

Herodias dances on knives which she holds with each hand, she also having her head downwards. At Verona, she is represented on the most ancient of the bronze gates of St. Zeno (ninth century) bending backwards and touching her feet with her head. Those standing by seem filled with surprise and admiration, one puts his hand to his mouth, the other to his cheek, in an involuntary gesture of amazement. She may be seen in the same posture in several manuscripts in the British

Museum; Herod is sitting at his table with his lords, while the young woman dances head downwards.[1] In another manuscript, also of the fourteenth century, minstrels are shown playing on their instruments, while a professional dancing girl belonging to their troop performs as usual, head downwards, but this time, as at Clermont, her hands rest on two swords. The accounts of the royal exchequer of England sometimes mention sums paid to passing dancers, who, no doubt, must also have performed surprising feats, for the pay-

FAVOURITE DANCES IN PERSIA.

(*From a modern pencil-case.*)

ments are considerable. Thus, in the third year of his reign, Richard II. pays to John Katerine, a dancer of Venice, six pounds thirteen shillings and fourpence for having played and danced before him.[2]

In the East, where, in our travels, we have sometimes the surprise of finding ancient customs still living which we can at home only study in books, the

[1] For instance, MS. Add. 29704, fol. 11. This particular illumination seems to belong to the fourteenth century.

[2] Devon's "Issues of the Exchequer," p. 212.

fashion for buffoons and mimics survives, and even remains the great distraction of some princes. The late Bey of Tunis had fools to amuse him in the evening, who insulted and diverted him by the contrast of their permitted insolences with his real power. Among the rich women of the Mussulmans of Tunis, few of whom can read, the monotony of the days which during their whole life are passed under the shadow of the same walls, under the shelter of the same gratings, is broken by the recitals of the female fool, whose sole duty is to enliven the harem by sallies of the strangest liberty. As for the dances, they frequently consist, in the East, in performances exactly similar to that of Herodias, such as it is shown in manuscripts. Women dancing head downwards are constantly represented on Persian pictures; several examples of such paintings may be seen in the South Kensington Museum, and the same subject is often found on the valuable pencil-cases which were formerly made with much taste and art in Persia.

If the Europeans of the fourteenth century were capable of tasting such pleasures, it was not surprising that, following on the moralists, public opinion should at length condemn in one breath minstrels and mimics, and should set them down with those vagabond roamers of the highways, who appeared so dangerous to parliament. In proportion as we advance the minstrel's *rôle* grows viler. In the sixteenth century Phillip Stubbes saw in them the personification of all vices, and he justifies in violent terms his contempt for "suche drunken sockets and bawdye parasits as range the cuntreyes, ryming and singing of vncleane, corrupt and filthie songes in tauernes, ale-houses, innes, and other

publique assemblies." Their life is like the shameful songs of which their heads are full, and they are the origin of all abominations. They are, besides, innumerable :

"Every towne, citie, and countrey is full of these minstrelles to pype up a dance to the deuill : but of dyuines, so few there be as they maye hardly be seene.

"But some of them will reply, and say, What, sir! we haue lycences from iustices of peace to pype and vse our minstralsie to our best commoditie. Cursed be those licences which lycense any man to get his lyuing with the destruction of many thousands!

"But haue you a lycence from the archiustice of peace, Christe Jesus? If you have not . . . than may you, as rogues, extrauagantes, and straglers from the heauenlye country, be arrested of the high iustice of peace, Christ Jesus, and be punished with eternall death, notwithstanding your pretensed licences of earthly men." [1]

We see to what a state of degradation the noble profession of the old singers was fallen, and how little the necessity either of obtaining an authorized licence or of entering into a gild, as Edward IV. desired, checked their extravagances. With new manners and inventions the object of their existence disappeared, and the truly high part of their art vanished; the ancient reciters of poems, after having mingled with the some-

[1] Phillip Stubbes' "Anatomy of Abuses," ed. F. J. Furnivall, New Shakspere Society, 1877–79, pp. 171, 172. Stubbes' opinion was shared by all the writers in the sixteenth century who piqued themselves on religion or austerity of manners.

what disreputable troops of caterers to public amusement, saw these troops survive them, and there only henceforth remained upon the roads those coarse buffoons and vulgar musicians whom reflective persons held as reprobates.

A PERFORMING BEAR.
(*From MS.* 10 *E. IV.*)

A SHAM MESSENGER.
(*From the MS.* 10 *E. IV.*)

CHAPTER II.

MESSENGERS, ITINERANT MERCHANTS AND PEDLARS.

ALL his life long, kind, loving, merry Chaucer was fond of travels and travellers, of roamers and tale-tellers, of people who came from afar, bringing home with them many stories if little money, stories in which much falsehood no doubt was mingled with very little truth. But what is the good of raising a protest against harmless falsehoods, is not sometimes their mixture with "sooth" a pleasant one? Thus, he said,

> "Thus saugh I fals and sothe compouned
> Togeder fle for oo (one) tydynge."

He looked for seekers of adventure, and was never tired of hearing their tales.

"Aventure,
That is the moder of tydynges,
As the see is of welles and of sprynges;"

and no greater pleasure for him than to see

"Winged wondres faste fleen,
Twenty thousand in a route,
As Eolus hem blew aboute."

He was in this a real *connoisseur*, fully appreciating the merit of a well-told lie, and knowing how useful and pleasant some such may be found to beguile slow-winged time. Long before he started from the Tabard, "faste by the Belle," for a journey which millions of Englishmen have since performed at his heels, allured by the music or merriment of his song, he had this same taste for "unkouthe syghtes and tydynges." Finding himself once in great "distresse" of mind, with a heavy heart "disesperat of all blys," what did he dream of to "solace" himself but of meeting and hearing the whole innumerable tribe of tale-tellers, wayfarers, and adventure seekers, by fancy assembled in an immense house "made of twigges, salwe, rede and green eke?" This happened when he wrote of the "House of Fame,"[1] where after having met the bard "that bare of Thebes up the fame," and "gret Omere," and "Venus clerke Ovide," he imagined that there was no room for him, and feeling his grief as keen as ever, dreamed of something else, willing

"Somme newe tydyngis for to lere,
Somme newe thinge, Y not what,
Tydyngs other this or that,
Of love, or suche thinges glad."

[1] All the extracts here given are taken out of the "House of Fame," book iii., "Poetical Works of Chaucer," ed. R. Morris.

In this he had full satisfaction; his dream took another turn and he was led towards the place he wanted where things glad were to be found, a temple not of fame, but of tales and tidings, of noise and merriment:

> "And theroute come so grete a noyse,
> That had hyt stonde upon Oyse,
> Men myght hyt have herd esely
> To Rome, Y trowe sikerly."

The noise went up to the sky from innumerable apertures, for

> "This hous hath of entrees
> As feele (many) as of leves ben on trees,
> In somer whan they grene ben."

Never for one instant is the place quiet nor silent; it is always

> "Filde ful of tydynges
> Other loude or of whisprynges;
> And over alle the houses angles,
> Ys ful of rounynges and of jangles,
> Of werres, of pes, of mariages,
> Of restes, of labour and of viages."

War and peace, and love and travels; all this he was to make in after-time the subject of his song in the "Canterbury Tales," and he represents himself in this earlier poem as if coming to the well and spring of all tales, placed somewhere in the land of dreams and fancy but surrounded by people who were neither fanciful nor dreamy things, bony beings, on the contrary, with strong muscles and alert tongues, and the dust of the road to Rome or the East on their feet; surrounded, in fact, by these very roamers we are now trying to call up one by one from the past, and who stand there in such an

apotheosis as is convenient for their quaint but rather questionable assembly. Good Chaucer lends a willing ear, and the ways of speech of these people are carefully preserved in his verse for those who may after him find interest in them. In this manner they spoke: every person, says the poet,

> "Every wight that I saugh there
> Rouned (muttered) in eche others ere,
> A newe tydynge prevely,
> Or elles tolde alle oppenly
> Ryght thus, and seyde; 'Nost not thou
> That ys betyd, late or now?'
> —'No,' quod he, 'Telle me what.'
> And than he tolde hym this and that,
> And swore therto that hit was sothe;
> 'Thus hath he sayde' and 'Thus he dothe,'
> And 'Thus shal hit be' and 'Thus herde Y seye.'"

And the delight is that the tale repeated by many is always new, for it is never exactly the same; the lie fattens as it grows old, so that it may serve your pleasure many a time and oft:

> "Whan oon had herde a thinge ywis,
> He come forthright to another wight,
> And gan him tellen anon ryght,
> The same thynge that him was tolde,
> Or hyt a forlonge way was olde,
> But gan sommewhat for to eche (increase)
> To this tydynge in this speche
> More than hit ever was . . .
> As fire ys wont to quyk and goo
> From a sparke sprongen amys,
> Tille alle a citee brent up ys."

That there may be no mistake about the sort of people to whom the pleasant art of stretching a lie is so

familiar, Chaucer is careful to name them, and there we find almost every one of our friends already mentioned or hereafter described, the English sea or land wayfarers :

> "And lord ! this hous in alle tymes
> Was ful of shipmen and pilgrimes,
> With scrippes (bags) bret-ful of leseyngs (lies)
> Entremedled with tydynges,
> And eke allone be hemselve ;
> O many a thousand tymes twelve
> Saugh I eke of these pardoners,
> Currours, and eke of messangers
> With boystes crammed ful of lyes."

What Chaucer gathered from these shipmen, pardoners, couriers, and messengers, he assures us it was not his intention to tell the world,

> "For hit no nede is redely ;
> Folke kan hit synge bet than I."

Whether or not some doubt may have afterwards entered his mind about the great poetical faculty of "folke," certain it is that for the delight of future ages he did not stick to his word, as every reader of the "Canterbury Tales" well knows.

These "boystes" which Chaucer represents, carried by messengers and couriers, were filled in the way he describes only in a metaphorical sense, and this left room for more solid ware, for letters and parcels too, for in those old simple days, the messengers were the only equivalent for mail and for parcels post. They were to be found in the service of abbots, bishops, nobles, sheriffs, and of the king. Such a

costly forerunner of the post was not, of course, accessible to everybody; people did as they best could. The poor man waited till some friend was going a journey; the rich only had express messengers, charged with doing their commissions at a distance, and with carrying their letters, letters which were generally written at dictation by a scribe on a sheet of parchment, and then sealed in wax with the master's signet.[1] The king kept twelve messengers with a fixed salary; they followed him everywhere, in constant readiness to start; they

A PROFESSIONAL MESSENGER.
(*From the MS.* 10 *E. IV.*)

received threepence a day when they were on the road, and four shillings and eightpence a year to buy shoes.[2]

[1] See the representation of lords and ladies dictating their letters to scribes, and of messengers carrying them to their destinations in the MSS. at the British Museum, Royal 10 Ed. IV. fol. 305, 306, &c., and Add. 12228 fol. 238.

[2] "King Edward II.'s Household and Wardrobe Ordinances," 1323, ed. Furnivall, 1876, p. 46.

The prince charged them with letters for the kings of France and Scotland; sent them to call together the representatives of the nation for Parliament; to order the publication of the papal sentence against Guy de Montfort; to call to Windsor the knights of St. George; to summon the "archbishops, earls, barons, and other lords and ladies of England and Wales" to London to be present at the funeral of the late queen (Philippa); to prescribe the proclamation in the counties of the statutes made in Parliament; to command the "archbishops, bishops, abbots, priors, deans, and chapters of the cathedral churches of all the shires to pray for the soul of Anne, late Queen of England, deceased."[1] We find him in another case sending messengers or heralds to foreign parts, viz., France, Germany, Brabant, Flanders, Scotland, to call the nobility of these countries to a great tournament, a sort of international match to be held on St. George's Day. The amount of the expense so incurred, which is not less than thirty-two pounds, shows that the messengers must have had long protracted journeys and must have had to visit in detail the countries allotted to each of them.[2]

Sometimes the king got into trouble with his Commons on account of the expenses of messengers, which he did not always feel inclined to pay from his own purse. Such a case happened in 1378, and the Com-

[1] "Issue roll of Thomas de Brantingham," ed. F. Devon, London, 1835, pp. xxxii, xxxvii, xliv, 408; "Issues of the Exchequer," 1837, pp. 220, 255. Whole pages of Thomas de Brantingham's roll (*e.g.*, pp. 154–155) are filled with payments received by messengers, which show the frequent use that must have been made of their services.

[2] 32 Ed. III. "Issues of the Exchequer," p. 169.

mons took this opportunity of again asserting their views about the French and other foreign possessions of their sovereign: Ireland being included among these. They plainly state, as they had done before, that those countries and the expenses concerning them are a matter for the king, not for them; it is a sort of kingly luxury with which they will have nothing to do. They remonstrate, therefore, that about forty-six thousand pounds sterling have been spent and entered as an item of national expense "for the safeguard of certain countries, places, and fortresses, for which the Commons ought in no way to be charged. These are partly in the march of Calais and partly at Brest, Cherbourg, in Gascony, and in Ireland; and also expenses over certain messengers to Flanders, Lombardy, Navarre, and Scotland." The Government peremptorily refuses to accept this kind of reasoning, and returns a spirited answer: "To which it was answered that Gascony and the other forts which our lord the king has in the parts beyond, are and must be as barbicans for the kingdom of England, and if the barbicans are well kept, with the safeguard formed by the sea, the kingdom will be secure of peace. Otherwise we shall never find rest nor peace with our enemies; for then they would push hot war to the thresholds of our houses, which God forbid. Besides, through these barbicans our said lord the king has convenient gates and entrances towards his enemies to grieve them when he is ready and can act." Good reasons also are given for retaining among public expenses the costs of the journeys of messengers north and south.[1] None the less did the

[1] 2 Rich. II., A.D. 1378. "Rolls of Parliament," vol. iii. p. 36.

good Commons of England long continue to consider the French wars, glorious perhaps, but undoubtedly expensive, as a personal quarrel of their sovereign, and as, in fact, little more than a rivalry between two French sovereigns.

Many strange parcels besides letters had couriers and messengers to carry from one place in the country to another: presents to fair ladies, commodities of all sorts for their own masters. Thus, in the year 1396, we find a servant of the Duc de Berri sent as a messenger to Scotland, and travelling all the way thither from France across England to fetch certain greyhounds of whom his master appears to have been fond. He is accompanied by three men on horseback, who will have to help him in taking care of the hounds, and he carries a safe-conduct from Richard II., to travel without hindrance through the English dominions with his followers and all that belongs to them.[1]

Among the missions given by the king to his servants, some are found which at the present day would seem singularly repugnant. For instance, he might charge one of his faithful servants to carry the quarters of a criminal's body condemned for treason to the great towns of England. In this case he did not employ simple messengers; they were personages of confidence, who were followed by an escort to convey the sad remains. Thus Edward III., in the fifty-first year of his reign, paid not less than twenty pounds to "Sir William de Faryngton, knight, for the costs and expenses he had incurred for transporting the four quarters of the body

[1] Rymer's "Fœdera," April 3, 1396 (19 Rich. II.).

of Sir John of Mistreworth, knight, to different parts of England."[1]

Of all travellers, the messenger was the swiftest; first, because travelling was his business; he was a good horseman, an experienced person, clever in getting out of trouble on the road and at the inns. Woe to whoever thought to stop him; there were immense fines if the master were powerful, still more if the man were the king's messenger. A messenger from the queen who had been imprisoned by the constable of Roxburgh Castle did not hesitate to claim £10,000 sterling for contempt of his sovereign, and £2,000 as indemnity for himself.[2]

When, on August 7, 1316, Jacques d'Euse, cardinal-bishop of Porto, was chosen pope at Lyons, and assumed the name of John XXII., Edward II. being at York learnt the news ten days afterwards through Laurence of Ireland, messenger of the house of the Bardi. And indeed we find by the accounts of the king's household that this prince paid Laurence twenty shillings on the 17th of August to reward him for his trouble. It was only on the 27th of September that, being still at York, the king received by Durand Budet, the cardinal of Pelagrua's messenger, the official letters announcing the election; he gave five pounds to the messenger. Finally, the pope's nuncio having arrived in person shortly afterwards, bearing the same news which was now not at all fresh, the king made him a present of a hundred pounds.[3]

[1] "Issues of the Exchequer," p. 202.

[2] "Rolls of Parliament," i. p. 48 (18 Ed. I.).

[3] "Wardrobe Accounts of Edward II.," Archæologia, xxvi, pp. 321, 336.

Such was the custom, presents were made to the bringers of good news ; the royal messengers had thus a chance of casually increasing their meagre pay of threepence a day. Most fortunate were those who brought word to the king himself of happy events. Edward III. gave forty marks of rent for life to the queen's messenger who came announcing the birth of the Prince of Wales, the future Black Prince ; he gave thirteen pounds, three shillings and fourpence to John Cok of Cherbourg, who told him of the capture of King John at Poictiers ; he settled a hundred shillings of rent upon Thomas de Brynchesley who brought him the good news of the capture of Charles of Blois.

Sometimes messengers were liable to find themselves in a very difficult plight. In time of war they had to conceal their real quality, and were in constant danger of being stopped and having their bag searched and their letters opened. People felt very strongly about foreigners living in England, many of them being friars, who might disclose the secrets of the realm in their private correspondence. The Commons therefore asked for very strict rules to be passed in order to remedy this possible evil, and we find them, in the year 1346, when England was at war with France, recommending the creation of something like the *cabinets noirs* of a later date.[1]

[1] "Item, be it prohibited everywhere that any alien send letters beyond the sea, or receive letters which come thence; unless he shew them to the chancellor or to some other lord of the Privy Council, or at least to the chief wardens of the ports or their lieutenants, who shall further show them to the said Council" ("Rolls of Parliament," vol. ii. p. 163, 20 Ed. III.).

Langland in his "Visions" graphically compares the different modes of travelling of messengers and such other wayfarers as merchants going with their goods from one place to another. The one is the swiftest of all, no one would have dared to stop him; the other was retarded by his pack, his debts, his fear of robbers, his necessity of abstaining from short cuts across the fields, which short cuts, strange as it may seem, were freely allowed to messengers: no hayward would disturb them; no man in his senses, no "wys man" would "wroth be" on account of his crops being spoiled by a messenger:

"... Yf a marchaunt and a messager metten to-gederes
And scholde wende o way where both mosten reste, ...
The marchante mote nede be lette (kept) lengere then the messagere:
The messagere doth na more bote with hus mouthe telleth
Hus erande and hus lettere sheweth and is a-non delyuered.
And thauh thei wende by the wey tho two to-gederes,
Thauh the messager make hus wey a-mydde the whete,
Wole no wys man wroth be, ne hus wed take;
Ys no haiwarde yhote (bidden) hus wed for to take:
Necesitas non habet legem.
Ac yf the merchaunt make hus way ouere menne corne,
And the haywarde happe with hym for to mete,
Other hus hatt, other hus hode, othere elles hus gloues
The marchaunt mot for-go, other moneye of hus porse ...
Yut thauh thei wenden on way as to wynchestre fayre,
The marchaunt with hus marchaundise may nat go so swithe
As the messager may ne with so mochel ese.
For that on (one) bereth bote a breuet (letter) ther-ynne,
Thar the marchaunt ledeth a male (trunk) with meny kynne thynges
And dredeth to be ded there-fore and (if) he in derke mete
With robbours and reuers (thieves) that riche men dispoilen;
Ther the messager is ay murye hus mouthe ful of songes."[1]

[1] Text C, pas. xiv., ll. 33–59.

Wayfarers there were in whom both characteristics were united, the slowness of pace of the merchant and the lightness of heart of the messenger. These were the pedlars, a very numerous race in the Middle Ages, one of the few sorts of wanderers that have not yet disappeared. A jovial race they seem to have been; they are so now, most of them, for their way to success is through fair speech and enticing words; and how could they be enticing if they did not show good humour and *entrain?* "Gaiety" mends their broken wares and colours the faded ones, and blinds customers to otherwise obvious defects. They have always been described so; they were merry and sharp-tongued, such was Shakespeare's Autolycus; such is, in a novel of our time, the jovial owner of the dog Mumps, Bob Jakin of "The Mill on the Floss." "'Get out wi' you, Mumps,' said Bob, with a kick; 'he is as quiet as a lamb, sir'—an observation which Mumps corroborated by a low growl, as he retreated behind his master's legs." About the exact scrupulousness prevailing among the tribe the opinion has perhaps not been quite so consistent, which is the best that can be said for it.

One good point about them, however, is that in mediæval England, whatever may have been their reputation, they entirely escaped legislation. Very possibly they were impliedly included in statutes against vagrants and rovers; but they may at least argue that as a matter of fact they are not named in any Act of Parliament, and pass unobserved or nearly so by the Westminster legislator down to a comparatively recent date. They are for the first time named in a statute during the reign of Edward VI., in which, it is true,

they are treated in a very contemptuous manner, being described as more "hurtful than necessary to the common wealth." This is called "an acte for tynckers and pedlers," and is to the following effect: "For as muche as it is evident that tynkers, pedlers and suche like vagrant persons are more hurtfull than necessarie to the Common Wealth of this realm, Be it therefore ordeyned . . . that . . . no person or persons commonly called pedler, tynker or pety chapman shall wander or go from one towne to another or from place to place out of the towne, parishe or village where such person shall dwell, and sell pynnes, poyntes, laces, gloves, knyves, glasses, tapes or any suche kynde of wares whatsoever, or gather connye skynnes or suche like things or use or exercise the trade or occupation of a tynker;" except those that shall have a licence from two justices of the peace; and then they will be allowed to travel only in the "circuyte" assigned to them.[1] Queen Elizabeth, too, had a word for pedlars, and it was not more complimentary than what her brother had to say about them. Their name appears in her "Acte for the punishment of vacabondes;" and a very curious list of wanderers is found in it: "It ys nowe publyshed," says the queen, "that . . . all ydle persones goinge aboute in any countrey of the said Realme, vsing subtyll craftye and unlawfull games or playes, and some of them fayninge themselves to have knowledge in phisnomye, palmestrye, . . . and all fencers, bearwardes, comon players in interludes and minstrels not belonging to any baron of this realme . . . all juglers, pedlars, tynkers, and petye chapmen . . . and all scollers of the Universityes of

[1] 5 and 6 Ed. VI., ch. 21. Statutes, vol. iv. part i. p. 155.

Oxford or Cambridge y^t^ goe about begginge . . . and all shipmen pretendinge losses by sea . . . shalbee deemed roges vacabounds and sturdy beggers intended of by this present act."[1] But the case of pedlars was not seriously taken in hand before the reign of William III. who put a tax upon them and, ominously enough, bound them to certify commissioners for transportation how they travelled and traded.[2]

The late date of this statute of pedlars, if it may be called so, is the more remarkable as they swarmed along the roads in the Middle Ages. There were not then as now large shops in every village with all the necessaries of life ready provided for the inhabitants. The shop itself was itinerant, being nothing else than the pack of travelling chapmen. In the same way as the literature minstrels would propagate, as news, tales, and letters, pardons from Rome and many other things, so household wares were carried about the country by indefatigable wayfarers. A host of small useful things were concealed in their unfathomable boxes. The contents of them are pretty well shown by a series of illuminations in a fourteenth-century manuscript, where a pedlar is represented asleep at the foot of a tree, while monkeys have got hold of his box and help themselves to the contents. They find in it vests, caps, gloves, musical instruments, purses, girdles, hats, cutlasses, pewter pots, and a number of other articles.

As to the means by which pedlars came by their goods, several were familiar to them, and purchase seems to have been only one among many. A proverbial saying

[1] 14 Eliz. ch. v. Statutes, vol. iv. part i. pp. 590, *et seq.*
[2] 8 and 9 Will. III., ch. 25.

preserved for us by Langland shows how they secured furs for their country customers. The author of the "Visions" states how Repentance came once to Avarice, and examined him as to his doings in usury :

"'Hastow pite on pore men that mote nedes borwe ?'
'I have as moche pite of pore men as pedlere hath of cattes
That wolde kille hem, yf he cacche hem myghte, for coueitise of here skynnes.'" [1]

A PEDLAR ROBBED BY MONKEYS.
(*From the MS.* 10 *E. IV.*)

a practice which cannot fail to be deeply resented by all lovers of cats.

The regular merchants whom Langland and Chaucer describe, with business enough to be in debt, adorned with Flaundrisch hats and forked beards, were a very different sort of people ; but though no mere wanderers, they were, too, great wayfarers. Many of them had had to visit the continent to find market for their goods, and for their purchases. Through them

[1] Text B, pas v. l. 246.

too, and it was in fact, perhaps, the safest and most reliable among many such channels of information, ideas of what was going on in the outer world and how things were managed in France and elsewhere, points of similitude and comparison, were introduced to England and made the subject of thought and discussion. During this century the foreign trade of England had greatly increased; there was a constant intercourse with Flanders, with Bruges above all other towns, for the sale of home produce: wools especially, and woolfels, cheese, butter, tin, coals,[1] &c., with the Rhine country, with Gascony, with Spain, for the purchase of wines;[2] with the Hanse towns, Lombardy, Venice, and the East. Unintelligent regulations constantly interfered, it is true, with this development, but

[1] The English coaling trade had greatly increased in the fourteenth century; large quantities were brought by water from Newcastle and other places to London and partly consumed on the spot, partly exported. The importance of the coal mines did not escape the notice of the Commons, who stated in the year 1376–7 that "en diverses parties deinz le Roialme d'Engleterre sont diverses miners de carbons, dont les communes du dit partie ont lour sustenantz en grande partie" (51 E. III. "Rolls of Parliament," vol. ii. p. 370).

[2] The trade in wines was enormous, especially with Gascony, and subjected to the most minute regulations. Not only the importation of it was the occasion of constant regulations, but the retail sale in towns was perpetually touched upon by local ordinances Woe to the vintner who was detected meddling in any unfair way with his liquor; he might experience the chastisement inflicted upon John Penrose, who for such an offence was sent to the pillory in 1364, had to drink publicly there his own stuff, to have what he could not drink poured over his head, and was besides sentenced to renounce his trade for ever. (Riley, "Memorials of London," 1868, p. 318.)

so strong was the impulse that it went on steadily. One of the most persistent and most noxious of these regulations was the prohibition to export money or bullion, which governments were never tired of renewing.[1] English merchants were prohibited when purchasing goods in foreign countries to pay for them with money ; they had to pay in kind, with wools, cheese and other home produce, which of course might or might not, be found acceptable by the vendor. It was, in other words, forbidden to use money as a means of facilitating exchange, which is its very *raison d'être*, and people had to return to the primitive practice of *troc*, or exchange in kind. It had sometimes worse effects than that of impeding transactions ; foreign merchants might, as once did the Flemings, show their appreciation of the rules imposed on their English purchasers by answering their proffer of wools and cheese with a beating and imprisonment until they would alter their laws or their minds. For which treatment, English merchants sent doleful complaints to Parliament. In such cases retaliation upon Flemings in England might be demanded, but no thought was entertained, even by the injured party, of repealing laws considered as an indispensable safeguard for the kingdom.[2]

[1] Same rules in France : "Que nul billon, vaissellemente, joyaux d'or et d'argent ne soint traits hors dudit royaume par personne quelle que ce soit, si ce n'estoit vaissellemente de prélats ou de nobles ou d'autres gens d'église pour lour service" (Ordinance of Jean le Bon, dated from London, 1358 ; Isambert, vol. v. p. 39).

[2] "Rolls of Parliament," 45 Ed., III. A.D. 1371, vol. ii. p. 306. While this legislation was strictly enforced in England, the royal

Not much wiser were the rules applied to merchant shipping. What made them worse was that they were constantly changed, a defect which was also noticeable in all trade regulations of that time. Some are curious as being an attempt to establish the strict rules which Cromwell so successfully worked on after 1651 : "Item to increase the navy of England which is now greatly diminished, it is assented and accorded, that none of the king's liege people do from henceforth ship any merchandize in going out or coming within the realm of England in any port, but only in ships of the king's liegeance." But the very next year this statute was altered so as to practically annul it : "It is ordained and granted that the said ordinance only have place as long as ships of the said ligeance in the parts where the said merchants happen to dwell be found able and sufficient." [1] The same unsteadiness of purpose was shown in almost every branch of the yet unbaptized science of political economy.

Not less worthy of notice than this attempt at a Navigation Act is the claim made, even at this time, by the Commons of England to a traditional supremacy over the seas. In one of their innumerable petitions concerning the decay of the navy, which seems to have been a favourite complaint from the remotest period down to our own time, they state that the rash and often useless pressing of ships for the king's service had

government, according to petitions of the Commons and with remarkable *naïveté*, often wrote to princes on the continent, recommending them to allow their own subjects to bring to England money, bullion, and plate.

[1] Statute 5 Rich. II. st. i. ch. 3, and 6 Rich. II., A.D. 1381–2.

brought about a most dangerous decrease of the navy; many mariners addicting themselves to other trades, while only "twenty years ago, *and always before*, the shipping of the Realm was in all the ports and good towns upon the sea or rivers, so noble and plenteous that all the countries held and called our said sovereign: the King of the Sea (*le Roi de la Mier*)."[1] As these were trading ships, only occasionally used for war purposes, this gives an idea of the importance to which British merchant shipping had attained in the fourteenth century and which it wanted to recover.

The rules concerning foreign merchants coming to England were in the same manner constantly changed; sometimes the hardest restrictions were put upon them, and sometimes everything was done to allure them to England. The result was the same; trade was impeded doubtless, but it went on, and in spite of the unsteadiness of legislation, of unexpected retaliatory measures (as when, for instance, Hanse merchants were imprisoned on account of misdeeds committed in Prussia by inhabitants of this country, no reason of complicity being alleged, but only it seems one of geographical vicinity[2]), in spite of restrictions innumerable, the intercourse steadily increased, to the great benefit of the community and the wider diffusion of ideas. In the ninth, the twenty-fifth, the twenty-seventh, and other years of his reign, King Edward III., again and again stated that he took foreign merchants under his special protection: "To replenish the said realm and lands," he said on one of these occasions, "with money and plate,

[1] "Rolls of Parliament," 46 Ed. III., A.D. 1372, vol. ii. p. 311.
[2] Ibid., 11 Rich. II., A.D. 1387, vol. iii. p. 253.

gold and silver and merchandises of other lands, and to give courage to merchants strangers to come with their wares and merchandises into the Realm and lands aforesaid, we have ordained and established that all merchants strangers which be not of our enmity, of what land or nation that they be, may safely and surely, under our protection and safe conduct, come and dwell in our said realm and lands, where they will, and from thence [freely] return," [1] selling their goods to whom they please, being exempted from purveyance and only paying the ordinary customs. If war is declared between England and their country, they will have forty days to clear the realm, during which time they will be allowed to continue their sales, and even more delay will be allowed them in case they are ill, or are detained by bad weather. This last was, as we have seen, a very necessary proviso, for a merchant coming with his goods in the depth of winter to a broken bridge might be stopped a pretty long time; the same also if, reaching the sea-coast, he found contrary winds. The statute of the twenty-fifth year provided that the liberal intentions of the king towards foreign merchants should be brought by way of proclamation to the notice of the officers and inhabitants of all the English counties, trading cities, seaports, &c.[2]

Thus protected and impeded by turns, foreign trade jogged on, and as common interest was, after all, stronger than popular prejudice and royal ordinances, it managed to thrive in England. Foreign gilds were established

[1] Statute 27 Ed. III. st. ii. ch. 2.
[2] 25 Ed. III. stat. iii, ch. 2.

in London; foreign settlements took place in several trading towns,[1] foreign fleets visited the English shores at regular intervals, none with more important results than the fleet of the Venetian Republic. It began to visit regularly the ports of Flanders, England, and the north in the year 1317; each ship had on board thirty archers for its defence, commanded by young Venetian noblemen. There was in the fourteenth century a Venetian consul at Bruges, and the commander of the galleys did not fail to put himself into communication with him. The fleet, or "galleys of Flanders," as it was called, brought to England cotton from Egypt, cloth of silk from Venice, cinnamon, pepper, cloves, saffron, camphor, musk, and other drugs or spices from the East, sugar from Egypt and Sicily, &c. The trade of Venice in the eastern Mediterranean was very extensive; it was carried on freely, except during occasional wars with the Saracen, and the commercial interests of the Italian Republics in the continuation of a good understanding with the infidel was one of the principal causes of the cessation of crusades. From England the Venetian galleys took back wools and woollen cloths, leather, tin, lead, sea-coal, cheese,[2] &c.

[1] See particulars about the Gildhalda Teutonicorum in Dowgate Ward, Thames Street, and afterwards in the Steel-house, in W. Herbert's "Livery Companies," London 1837, vol. i. pp. 10–16. The importance of Italian settlements of money-changers and money-lenders (whence the "Lombard streets" or "rues des Lombards" surviving in many towns) are too well-known to be insisted upon.

[2] These and many other particulars about English trade with Venice are to be found in Rawdon Brown's "Calendars of State

The importance of this intercourse with the continent, which fortunately the variations in the law of the land were unable to check, gave prominence to the English merchant in the community. He is already in the fourteenth century, and has been ever since, one of the main supports of the State. While the numerous applications of Edward III. to Lombard bankers for ready money are well known, it is sometimes overlooked how often he had recourse to English merchants, who supplied him with that without which his archers' bows would have remained unstrung. The advice and goodwill of the whole class of merchants could not be safely ignored; therefore their attendance was constantly requested at Westminster to discuss money and other State matters. Some families among them rose into eminence, such as the De la Poles of Hull, who became earls of Suffolk with descendants to be killed at Azincourt, to be checked by Joan of Arc at Orléans, to be made dukes, and to be impeached for high treason. It was, too, the time of "thrice Lord Mayor of London"[1] Dick, afterwards Sir Richard Whittington, who does not seem to have entertained the same feeling as the pedlars before-mentioned for cats. Another man of the same sort a little later was the famous William Canynge, of Bristol, who made there a large fortune in trading with foreign countries. One of the boats of this Canynge was called the *Mary Redcliffe*, a name as well as his

Papers . . . in the Archives of Venice," London, 1864 (Rolls); see also J. Delaville le Roulx, "La France en Orient au XIV^e^. siècle," Paris, 1886, vol. i. p. 199. See also "The libell of Englishe policye," 1436, ed. Hertzberg and Pauli, Leipzig, 1878, p. 37.

[1] For the first time in 1398. He was a liberal lender of money to Kings Henry IV. and Henry V.

own since associated with the memory of the Bristol boy-poet, Thomas Chatterton.

Below men in such an exalted situation the bulk of the merchant community throve as best they could. One of the necessities of their avocation was constant travelling. They were to be met about the roads almost as much as their poorer brothers the pedlars.

A RICH MERCHANT TRAVELLING (CHAUCER'S MERCHANT).
(*From the Ellesmere MS.*)

They also made great use of the water-courses, and, carried their goods by boat whenever there was any possibility. Hence the constant interference of the Commons with the erection of new mills, weirs, and other hindrances on rivers by lords of the adjoining lands. The "Rolls of Parliament" are full of petitions asking for the complete suppression of all new works of this sort as being detrimental to the

"common passage of ships and boats on the great rivers of England," or stating that "the merchants who frequent the water between London and Oxford used to have free passage on the Thames from London to Oxford, with their ships to carry their goods and to serve the commonalty and the people, but now they are disturbed by weirs, locks, mills, and many other hindrances."[1] The reasons that merchants preferred such a conveyance were that the cost of carriage was less; except for the occasional meeting of unexpected locks and weirs, they were more certain than on ordinary roads to find before them a clear course; and they were better able to protect themselves against robbers.

They could not, however, go everywhere by water, and willingly or not they had then to betake themselves to the roads, and incur all the mischances that might turn up on the way, or at the inn. In one of his "Visions," Langland describes how once one of the mischievous characters in his poem rifled at the inn the boxes of some travelling chapmen.

> "'Thus, ones I was herberwed,' quod he, 'with an hep of chapmen,
> I roos whan thei were arest and yrifled here males'" (their trunks).

Repentance, who had just been asking if his interlocutor had never made "restitucioun," wonders at this strange statement as to how things went on at the inn:

> "That was no restitucioun . . . but a robberes thefte."

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[1] "Rolls of Parliament," 25 Ed. III. A.D. 1350, and Ed. I. or II. anno incerto, vol. ii. p. 232 and vol. i. p. 475.

To which the careless being retorts in a way which reminds one of Chaucer's French of Stratford-atte-Bow :

> " 'I wende (believed) ryflynge were restitucioun,' quod he, 'for I lerned neuere rede on boke,
> And I can no frenche in feith but of the ferthest ende of norfolke.' "[1]

Between the " male " of these chapmen and the mere pack of the pedlar the difference is not very considerable ; it is not very great either if compared to the " male " of the merchant we have met before, who travels slowly on account of it, and who is represented by the poet as the emblem of " men that ben ryche." So that these three links kept pretty close together the chain of the itinerant trading community. They all had to go about and to experience the gaieties or dangers of the road, the latter being of course better known to the richer sort than to the poor Bob Jakin of the day. The reasons for this constant travelling were numerous ; the same remark applies to merchants of the fourteenth century as to almost all other classes : there was much less journeying than to-day for mere pleasure's sake, but very much more, comparatively, out of necessity. We cannot underrate the causes of personal journeys which the post and telegraph, with the money facilities they have introduced, have suppressed. But besides this consideration, in the fourteenth century the staple and fairs were among the causes impelling merchants to move about.

The staple was the subject of constant regulations,

[1] Text B, pas. v. l. 232.

complaints, and endless alterations. The fundamental law concerning it is the well-known statute of 1353, the mechanism of which the following extracts will show: "We (*i.e.*, the king and Parliament) have ordained . . . first, that the staple of wools, leather, woolfels, and lead, growing or coming forth within our said realm and lands, shall be perpetually holden at the places underwritten, that is to say, for England at Newcastle-upon-Tyne, York, Lincoln, Norwich, Westminster, Canterbury, Chichester, Winchester, Exeter, and Bristow; for Wales at Kaermerdyn; and for Ireland at Dublin, Waterford, Cork, and Drogheda, and not elsewhere; and that all the said wools, as well old as new, woolfels, leather, and lead, which shall be carried out of the said realm and lands shall be first brought to the said staples, and there the said wool and lead, betwixt merchant and merchant or merchant and others, shall be lawfully weighed by the standard; and that every sack and sarpler of the same wools so weighed be sealed under the seal of the mayor of the staple." Any English may bring and sell wool at the staple; but only foreign merchants are allowed to take it out of the realm. It is prohibited to stop carriages and goods going to the staple. It is ordained also "that in every town where the staple shall be holden, shall be ordained certain [streets] and places where the wools and other merchandises shall be put; and because that the lords or guardians of the houses and places, seeing the necessity of merchants do set percase their houses at too high ferm, we have ordained that the houses which be to be leased in such manner, shall be set at a reasonable ferm," after the estimation of the local authority,

assisted by four discreet men of the place.[1] It need scarcely be said that the staple was often removed from one town to another, from England to Calais and from Calais to England, &c., according to inscrutable whims and fancies, and with very detrimental results for all traders.

The fairs, the very name of which can scarcely fail to awaken ideas of merry bustle, gay clamour, and joyous agitation, were subjected too to very stringent regulations, so that the word reminded many people not only of pleasure but also of fines, confiscations, and perhaps worse. When the time came for a fair, it was prohibited to sell anything in the town except at the fair, under pain of the goods exhibited being seized. All the ordinary shops were to be closed. Such regulations were meant not only to insure the largest possible attendance at the fair, but also to secure for the lord of it the entirety of the tolls he had a right to. An inquest holden at Winchester, where there was a famous St. Giles' fair, gives an idea of the manner in which these commercial festivities were solemnized. The fair belonged to the Bishop of Winchester. On the eve of St. Giles's Day, at early dawn, the officers of the bishop went about the town proclaiming the conditions of the fair, which were these: no merchant was to sell or exhibit for sale any goods in the town, or at a distance of seven leagues round it, except inside the gates of the

[1] Statute 2 of 27 Ed. III. A.D. 1353. Canterbury was made a staple town "en l'onur de Saint Thomas," "Rolls of Parliament," vol. ii. p. 253, same year. As an example of the changes affecting the staple system, see the statute 2 Ed. III. chap. 9 (A.D. 1328), by which all staples were, for a time, abolished.

fair. The same ministers proclaimed the assise of bread, wine, and ale; tasted the wine, broke the casks where they detected "insufficient" wine. They proved all weights and measures; they burned the false ones and fined the owners. All merchants were to reach the fair not later than a certain time (the feast of the Nativity of the Virgin Mary); if they came later they were not admitted except with a special licence from the bishop. The usual allowance is made in case they may have been kept back by a storm at sea, or by some mischance on land, "infortunium in terra," which in this time of bad roads, and of such determined robbers as Sir Robert of Rideware might not have been infrequent. A court of "pie powder," that is, "of the dusty feet," [1] was held in the fair itself, and all suits arising from transactions there were determined by this tribunal at once, and without an appeal. Similar rules were in existence at the Westminster fair, and at many others.[2] The im-

[1] "*Pedis pulverisati curia.* Ea est quæ in nundinis constituitur, ad nundinalium rixas litesque celerrime componendas. . . . Dictum præcipue de mercatoribus vagabundis, qui nundinas pagatim insectantes omnes discurrunt provincias, nec sistendi locum agnoscunt, sed de his etiam qui ex omni parte ad nundinas confluunt" (H. Spelman, "Glossarium archaiologicum," ed. tertia, Londini, 1687, p. 455).

[2] These and other particulars about the way in which fairs were managed at Westminster and Winchester are to be found in a petition with an inquest of the year 1302, 30 Ed. I., in the "Rolls of Parliament," vol. i. p. 150. The Winchester Fair on St. Giles' hill, "Montem sancti Egidii," was one of the most famous English fairs. Langland mentions it, together with the Wayhill fair, Hampshire (still in existence), and gives a graphic account of the cheating that went on there, among unscrupulous merchants. ("Visions," Text C, pas. vii., l. 211.)

portance of these meetings is shown by the constant recurrence in the "Rolls of Parliament" of petitions concerning them, beseeching the king to grant a fair to a certain lord or to a certain town, or to suppress a neighbouring town's fair, for fear it may hurt our own.

People from the counties and from the continent flocked to the fairs. The largest and the more widely known were those of Winchester,[1] Abingdon, Bartholomew fair[2] in Smithfield (London), Stourbridge fair, &c.[3] In the time of Elizabeth, Harrison, while describing England, could not help expressing his pride in the importance and renown of English fairs, about which he writes thus: "As there are no great towns without one weekelie market at the least, so there are verie few of them that haue not one or two faires or more within the compasse of the yeare, assigned vnto them by the prince. And albeit that some of them are not much better than Lowse faire or the common Kirkemesses beyond the sea, yet there are diuerse not inferiour to the greatest marts in Europe, as Sturbridge faire neere to Cambridge, Bristow faire, Bartholomew faire at London, Lin mart, Cold faire at Newport pond

[1] See "Charter of Edward III. [as to] St. Giles' Fair, Winchester," ed. G. W. Kitchin, London, 1886.

[2] This fair, immortalized by Ben Jonson, disappeared only in 1855. See H. Morley's "Memoirs of Bartholomew Fair" (2nd ed. 1874).

[3] See list in Mr. Elton's Report, Market Rights Commission, 1889, vol. i. p. 5. There were fairs established especially for herrings and other fishing produce at Yarmouth, Scarborough, and many other towns on the sea-coast. The rigours of Lent and the number of fasting days throughout the year gave particular importance to these articles of consumption. Hence, too, the attention paid to fisheries and the regulations to prevent the catching of small fish, the destruction of spawn and bait, &c. Great complaints are made

for cattell, and diuerse other."[1] Stourbridge fair belonged to the city and corporation of Cambridge, and took place in September, lasting three weeks. Tents and wooden booths were erected at that time on the open fields, so as to form streets; each trade, as was usual, had its own street, in the same manner as may be seen now in the bazaars of the East. Among the principal articles sold at this fair were: "ironmongery, cloth, wool, leather, books." This last article became a very important one when the art of printing spread; there was in the North Hundred of Oxford, in the sixteenth century, a fair in which an extensive sale of books took place, and this, as Professor Thorold Rogers has justly observed, is the only way to account for the rapid diffusion of books and pamphlets at a time when newspapers and advertisements were practically unknown. "I have, more than once," adds the same authority, "found entries of purchases for college libraries, with a statement that the book was bought at St. Giles' fair."[2] No reader of Boswell needs to be reminded how the father of Dr. Johnson had a booth for book selling on market days

against the use of the net called "wondyrchoun," which drags from the bottom of the sea all the bait "that used to be the food of great fish." Through means of this instrument fishermen catch "such great plenty of small fish that they do not know what to do with them, but fatten their pigs with them" ("Rolls of Parliament," 1376–7, vol. ii. p 369). As to salmon fishing in the Thames, see ibid., vol. ii. p. 331, A.D. 1376.

[1] Harrison's "Description of England," ed. Furnivall, 1877, part i. book ii. chap. xviii. (first published in 1577).

[2] "History of Agriculture and Prices in England," vol. iv. chap. iv. p. 155. As to Stourbridge fair, ibid. vol. i. chap. vii. p. 141.

at Uttoxeter, in doing which he was merely keeping up, as we see, a mediæval tradition of long standing. How young Samuel refused once to accompany his father to the market, and how, in after-time, when he became king of the London literary world, he repaired on a rainy day to the spot where the booth used to be, and there did penance, is too well known to be more than alluded to here. Even at the present day books continue to be an article of sale at the fairs in many French country places, and sheets of printed matter are taken from thence to cottages, where, under the smoky light burning in winter by the fireside, people, not very dissimilar to their forefathers of five hundred years ago, read of mediæval heroes and of the worthies of the world.

To the fairs, along with mummers, jugglers, tumblers, beggars, and the whole of the catchpenny tribe, the pedlar was sure to resort, in the approved Autolycus fashion. "He haunts," says the clown in "Winter's Tale," "wakes, fairs, and bear-baiting." There he might exhibit "ribands of all the colours i' the rainbow; points, more than all the lawyers in Bohemia can learnedly handle, though they come to him by the gross; inkles, caddisses, cambricks, lawns. Why, he sings them over, as they were gods or goddesses; you would think a smock were a she-angel, he so chants to the sleeve hand, and the work about the square on't."[1] So that everybody might remark as does the honest clown to fair Perdita, "You have of these pedlars that have

[1] "Winter's Tale," iv. 3. Cf. "The foure Ps," by John Heywood, London, 1545, one of the "Ps" is a pedlar, whose wares are enumerated in full.

more in them than you'd think, sister." And not unsatisfied with their lot, careless of robbers, having few wants, they might plod the miry roads of Plantagenet England, as they did at the time of Shakespeare, merrily singing some "Winter's Tale" ditty :

"Jog on, jog on, the foot-path way,
And merrily hent the stile-a ;
A merry heart goes all the day,
Your sad tires in a mile-a."

FOREST LIFE. WOOD-CUTTERS.
(*From the MS.* 10 *E. IV.*)

CHAPTER III.

OUTLAWS, WANDERING WORKMEN, AND PEASANTS OUT OF BOND.

THE mountebanks, the musicians, and their fellows have arrested us at the street corners and in castle courtyards; the pedlars have led us to the fairs and markets. With the outlaws, the unfortunates put outside of the law, we must leave the highroad for the scarcely-tracked pathway, and penetrate into the woods.

England at that time was not the immense meadow which is ploughed by the railways of the present day; there still remained much of that forest of which Cæsar speaks in his Commentaries, and in which the ancestors of the Plantagenet kings had so jealously maintained their rights of the chase. The woods were not so strictly guarded as they are at the present

day ; they offered an extensive asylum to bandits and to those fleeing from justice. In the popular mind the idea of the grand rustling forest, and the idea of the free life which the proscribed led there, were mingled in one and the same sentiment of sympathy. This is why, alongside of the Arthurian epic, we find that of the trees and bushes, that of the brave men who, dwelling in the underwood, were imagined to have struggled for the public liberties, those of Hereward, of Fulk Fitz-Warin, of Robin Hood. Let a man be pursued, he was immediately on the way to the forest ; it was easier to get there, he remained nearer to his relations, and he was quite as safe as if he had crossed over to the continent.

Robbers, bandits, poachers, and knights might thus meet as comrades in the depths of the wood. The forest is the first thought of the proscribed squire in the ballad of the "Nut Brown Maid," the masterpiece of English poetry in the fifteenth century, a musical duet of love, full of the wild charm of the great forest, with a well-accented cadence and frequent rhymes which sound on the ear. On the point of being taken, the poor squire is fain to choose between a shameful death and retreat into "the grene wode." His betrothed, who is nothing less than a baron's daughter, wishes to follow him ; and then in every couplet, her lover, in order to try her, represents to her the terrors and dangers of the fugitive's life ; she may perhaps see him taken and die a robber's death :

"For an outlawe this is the lawe, that men hym take and binde
Wythout pytee, hanged to bee, and wauer with the wynde."

With this is a thrilling picture of the life in the wood, of the brambles, snow, hail, rain; no soft bed, for roof the leaves alone:

"Yet take good hede, for euer I drede, that ye coude not sustein
The thorney wayes, the depe valeis, the snowe, the frost, the reyn,
The cold, the hete; for drye or wete we must lodge on the playn;
And, vs aboue, noon other roue (roof), but a brake, bussh or twayne."

No delicate food, but only such as the wood affords:

"For ye must there in your hande bere a bowe redy to drawe,
And as a theef thus must ye lyue, euer in drede and awe."

Still further, and the trial becomes harder; the young girl must cut off her lovely hair; life in the forest does not allow of keeping that ornament. Lastly, to crown all: I have already in the forest another sweetheart, whom I love better, and who is more beautiful. But, as resigned as Griselda, the betrothed replies: I shall go none the less into the forest; I will be kind to your sweetheart, I will obey her, "for in my mynde, of all mankynde, I love but you alone." Then the lover's joy breaks out: "I wyl not too the grene wod goo, I am noo banysshyd man," I am not an obscure squire, I am the son of the Earl of Westmoreland, and the hour of our wedding is now come.[1]

All the fugitives whom the forest received into its depths were not romantic knights, followed by women

[1] "The Nut Brown Maid," in Skeat's "Specimens of English Literature," Clarendon Press, 4th edition, 1887, p. 96.

patient as Griselda and brave as Bradamante. To pass from poetry to reality, they were for the greater part formidable rovers, the same against whom Edward I. and Edward III. had passed the rigorous law for suspected persons,[1] mentioned above. This class was composed, first of organized bands of brigands whom the statute calls Wastours, Roberdesmen, and Drawlatches, then of occasional thieves, sharpers, and malefactors of all kinds, and of different outlaws who were all of them struck with that civil death to which the lover in the "Nut Brown Maid" made allusion. The sentence of outlawry was usually the turning-point for a wandering life, which was then forced to become a life of brigandage. To be declared an outlaw, a crime or a misdemeanor must have been committed; a demand for justice by the plaintiff of a purely civil character was not enough;[2] but to be in a position to merit the gallows, no very great guilt was necessary, thence the large number of outlaws. In a criminal lawsuit of the time of Edward I.[3] the judge in his place explains that the law is this: if the thief has taken anything which is worth more than twelve pence, or if he has been condemned several times for little thefts, and the total may be worth twelve pence or more, he ought to be hanged. "The law wills that he shall be hanged by the neck." Still, as the judge observes in the case of a woman

[1] Statute of Winchester, 13 Edward I. chap. iv., confirmed by Edward III. See before p. 151.

[2] "Item videtur nulla esse utlagaria si factum, pro quo, interrogatus est, civile sit et non criminale" (Bracton, Rolls Series, vol. ii. p. 330).

[3] "Year Books of Edward I." (Rolls Series), years 30–31, p. 533.

who had stolen to the amount of eightpence, the law is milder than in the days of Henry III., for then a theft of the value of fourpence would hang a man.[1]

The man became an outlaw, and the woman a *weyve*, that is, abandoned to the mercy of every one and unable to claim the protection of the law. The author of "Fleta" expresses with terrible force the condition of persons so punished; they have wolves heads which may be cut off with impunity: "For she is a weyve whom no one will own, and it is equivalent to outlawry so far as penal consequences go. An outlaw and a weyve bear

FOREST LIFE—A SHOOTING CASUALTY.
(*From the MS. 10 E. IV.*)

wolves heads, which may be cut off by any one with impunity, for deservedly ought they to perish without law who would refuse to live according to law."[2] The outlaw lost all his property and all his rights; all the contracts to which he was a party fell void; he was no longer bound to any one nor anybody bound to him.

[1] "Year Books of Edward I." (Rolls Series), years 30–31, pp. 537-538. In the case of this woman, as she had no goods of her own and her husband was in Paris, she was let off without loss of chattels, for, "note this," adds the record, "it is better to leave the wrong-doer unpunished, than to punish the innocent." Mild judgments of this kind at times modified the harshness of the law. [L. T. S.]

[2] "Fleta," lib. i. chap. xxvii.

His goods were forfeit: "the chattels of an outlaw shall belong to our lord the king;" if he had lands the king kept the usufruct for a year and a day, at the end of which he restored them to the chief lord (*capitalis dominus*).[1] There were also very hard legal maxims on this subject; a man accused of murder and acquitted suffered confiscation nevertheless, if he had fled, fearing justice. Listen to the magistrate: "If a man be acquitted of manslaughter and of assent and help, the justices shall thereupon ask the jury if the prisoner took to flight; if they say No, let him go quits, if Yes, the king shall have his chattels."[2] It may be conceived that the draconian severity of such regulations was not calculated to lessen the audacity of those whom they concerned, and that the excessive rigour of these penalties would often transform the fugitive of a day, who had feared the clear-sightedness of the judge, into a brigand by profession and a robber on the highway.

Besides persons of this kind there were all the vagabonds who, without meriting sentence of outlawry, had fled the village or the farm to which they were attached. The villein who, without special licence, left his master's domain, only entered the common life again

[1] "Bracton," vol. ii. pp. 340-342.

[2] "Year Books of Edward I.," year 30-31, p. 515. Sometimes a man would profit by the absence of an enemy on the continent and affirm to a magistrate that he was in flight, and cause him to be declared an outlaw; thus the priest, John Crochille, complains to parliament for having been unjustly outlawed during a journey which he had made to the Court of Rome, in 1347 ("Rolls of Parliament," vol. ii. p. 178); the priest, Robert of Thresk, is also declared outlaw during his absence from the kingdom, "by the malice of his accusers" (ibid., 1347, vol. ii. p. 183).

after putting himself at his mercy, or, which was less hard, after having passed a year and a day in a free town without leaving it and without the lord having thought of interrupting the prescription. In this latter case he became a free man, and the ties which bound him to the soil were broken. But if he confined himself to wandering from place to place he might be re-taken any day that he reappeared at his own door. An example of this may be seen in a curious lawsuit of the time of Edward I., the abstract of which has come down to us :—*A.* presents a writ of imprisonment against *B.* Heiham, counsel for *B.* says: It is not for us to defend ourselves, *A.* is our villein, his writ cannot take effect against us. This is verified, it is found that *A.* is the son of a villein of *B.*, that he ran away, and several years afterwards returned home "to his nest," where he was taken as a villein. The judge declares that this seizure was legal; that a villein might wander about during six, seven years or more, but if at the end he were found "in his own nest and at his hearth," he might be seized as continuing to be his lord's lawful property; the fact of his return put him into the condition he was in before his departure. On hearing this decision the delighted counsel appropriately cites the scripture, "He fell into the pit which he hath digged." [1]

Escaped peasants brought the most numerous recruits to the wandering class. In England, a multitude of causes, among which the great Plague of 1349 [2]

[1] "Cecidit in foveam quam fecit." (See "Vulgate," Psalm vii. 16 : cecidit should be incidit.) ("Year Books," Edward I., year 21-22, p. 447.)

[2] According to Seebohm ("The Black Death and its place in

ranks as the chief, had in the fourteenth century overturned the relations of the working classes with the rich, and the proportions between the value of wages and that of the objects necessary to life. In face of a need of emancipation which arose on all sides, parliament —the House of Commons as willingly as the king— passed hard laws which prescribed the maintenance of the *statu quo ante pestem.* Thence came among the peasants an immense desire to change place and to see other parts. In their own village, they might observe, nothing was to be got but the same wages as before the plague; but in such another county, they thought or fancied there is better pay; besides, why not mingle with the class of free labourers? It was numerous and increased unceasingly, in spite of statutes. All of them did not succeed in concealing their past; and when the danger of being "put into stocks" and sent back to their masters became great, they fled again, changed their county and became roamers. Others, discontented with or without cause, only quitted their hamlet to become

English History," two articles in the *Fortnightly Review* in 1865) more than half of the population died during the year 1348-49. Knyghton, a contemporary, gives a striking picture of the plague at Leicester. "There were scarcely any who took heed of riches or cared for anything . . . And sheep and oxen wandered through the fields and among the crops; there was no one to go after and collect them; but there perished an untold number in out of the way ditches and under hedges." In the autumn labour was out of all price, and part of the crops were left on the ground (Twysden's "Decem Scriptores," col. 2599). "Through this pestilence," say the Commons in Parliament, "cities, boroughs, and other towns and hamlets throughout the land have decayed, and from day to day are decaying, and several are entirely depopulated" (25 E. III., A.D. 1350–1, "Rolls of Parliament," vol. ii. p. 227).

immediately vagabonds of the most dangerous kind, without house or home. Thus in the precincts of Westminster, the chapter house of the Abbey where the Commons sat resounded with ever new complaints against the increasing want of discipline among the peasantry. The Commons, who, generally speaking, represented the proprietors of the soil in the country, and a bourgeoisie with somewhat aristocratic tendencies in the towns, rose with force against the wishes for freedom among a class of workers whom they in no way represented. They wanted the re-establishment of all the old laws and customs, and the energetic repression of new disorders. But the current was too strong, and it swept by the laws; they were constantly renewed, but uselessly.

In 1350, immediately after the plague, a first ordinance is directed against the "malice of servants," who already had great independence and wished to have still greater. They wanted more wages than formerly, and also other terms of engagement; they would not work "without taking hire that was too outrageous." [1] Formerly they hired themselves out for a year, now they desired to remain their own masters, and to hire themselves by the day; the statute forbids them to

[1] "Rolls of Parliament," vol. ii. p. 233. Compare the French ordinances; that of John, of this same year ("Recueil d'Isambert," iv. p. 576), orders the idle people of Paris to work or to go away, which was less radical and still less useful than the English ordinances. Another order of John (Nov., 1354) was directed against the workmen who go from town to town, seeking great wages in other places where the ordinances are not strictly kept (ibid. p. 700). They are menaced with imprisonment, the pillory, and branding by the hot iron.

work under these conditions. Four years later there are new complaints;[1] corn is very low and the labourers refuse to receive it in lieu of payment; they persist also in desiring day hire; all these doings are condemned anew. The quarrel continues and grows embittered. In the thirty-fourth year of his reign Edward III. threatens to have the guilty branded on the forehead with an F, as a sign of "fauxine" (falsehood).[2] In 1372 the Parliament declares that "labourers and servants flee from one county to another, some go to the great towns and become artificers, some into strange districts to work, on account of the excessive wages, none remaining for certain in any place, whereby the statute cannot be put in execution against them."[3]

The Commons of the Good Parliament of 1376 obtained the confirmation of all the previous statutes. Prohibitions were renewed against going out of a man's "own district" (*pays propre*). The peasant must stop there and serve whoever wants him, not merely if he were serf or bondman but even if he belonged to the class of "labourers and artificers and other servants." But the economic changes that had taken place had rendered possible what was not so formerly; labourers were wanted, and it was not rare to find landowners who gave occupation to the workmen in spite of the laws, even by the day and at other wages than those of the tariff. The parliamentary petitions declare that "they are so warmly received in strange places suddenly into service, that this reception gives example and comfort to

[1] "Rolls of Parliament," vol. ii. p. 261, parliament of 1354.
[2] Statute 34 Ed. III. chap. 10, A.D. 1360–1.
[3] "Rolls of Parliament," ii. p. 312.

all servants as soon as they are displeased with anything to run from master to master into strange places, as is aforesaid." And this would not go on, justly observe the Commons, if when they offered their services in this fashion they were "taken and put in the stocks." That was true; but the farmers who were wanting good limbs, and whose crops were waiting on the ground, were too happy to meet with "servants and labourers," whoever they might be; and instead of taking them to the nearest gaol, they paid and gave them work. The labourers were not ignorant of this, and their traditional masters were forced to reckon according to circumstances and to show themselves less severe. For on some unreasonable demand or some over-strong reprimand, instead of submitting as formerly, or even protesting, the workman said nothing but went away: "as soon as their masters challenge them with bad service or offer to pay them for their service according to the form of the said statutes, they flee and run away suddenly out of their service and out of their own district, from county to county, from hundred to hundred, from town to town, in strange places unknown to their said masters." [1]

What was much worse, and would inevitably happen, was that many among them not being able or not willing to work took up begging or robbing by profession. These "wandering labourers become mere beggars in order to lead an idle life, and betake themselves out of their district commonly to the cities, boroughs, and other good towns to beg, and they are able-bodied and might well ease the community if they would serve."

[1] "Rolls of Parliament," ii. p. 340, A.D. 1376.

REAPING TIME. [*p.* 263.

(*From the MS.* 2 *B.* vii. *Fourteenth Century.*)

"We haue the payne and traveyle, rayne and wynd in the feldes." (John Ball's speech in Berners' Froissart.)

So much for the beggars ;[1] now for the robbers : "And the greater part of the said wandering servants commonly become strong robbers, and their robberies and felonies increase from one day to another on all sides." Energetic measures must be taken; let it be prohibited to give alms to this sort of person, and "let their bodies be put in the stocks or taken to the next gaol," to be sent afterwards to their own neighbourhood. Edward III. in 1349[2] had already condemned to prison those persons who, under pretext of charity, came to the aid of beggars; these vagabonds went through the country "giving themselves to idleness and vice, and sometimes to theft and other abominations." The same complaints recur in the time of Richard II. Hardly is he on the throne than they are repeated from year to year; we find them in 1377, 1378, 1379.[3]

Statutes multiplied in vain ; the king was obliged to recognize in his ordinance of 1383 that the "feitors (idlers) and vagrants" overran the country "more abundantly than they were formerly accustomed."[4] In 1388 he renewed all the orders of his predecessors and reminded the mayors, bailiffs, stewards, and constables

[1] Langland shows, in the same way, the shameless beggar who goes, bag on shoulder asking from door to door, who may very well if he pleases gain his bread and beer by work ; he knows a trade but he prefers not to exercise it.

"And can som manere craft in cas he wolde hit vse,
Thorgh whiche crafte he couthe come to bred and to ale."
("Piers Plowman," Text C, pass. x. l. 155 ; see also ibid., pass. i. l. 40.)

[2] Statute 23 Ed. III. cap. 7.

[3] "Rolls of Parliament," vol. iii. pp. 17, 46, 65.

[4] Statute 7 Rich. II. cap. 5.

of their duties, especially to repair their stocks and to keep them always ready for putting in persons of the wandering class.[1]

These were not vain threats, and they did not deal with light penalties. The prisons of those days had very little resemblance to those light and well-washed buildings which are now to be seen in many towns of England; for instance, at York, where the average of the condemned certainly find more cleanliness and comfort than they ever enjoyed. They were often fetid dungeons, where the damp of the walls and the stationary position compelled by the irons corrupted the blood and engendered hideous maladies.

Many a wandering workman accustomed to an active life and the open air came thus, thanks to the incessant ordinances of king and Parliament, to repent at leisure in the dark for his boldness, and during days and nights all alike to regret his liberty, his family, and his "nest." The effect of such a treatment on the physical constitution of the victims may be guessed; the reports of justice besides show it very clearly; we read, for example, in the Rolls "Coram Rege" of the time of Henry III. as follows:

"Assizes held at Ludinglond. The jury present that William le Sauvage took two men, aliens, and one woman, and imprisoned them at Thorlestan, and detained them in prison until one of them died in prison, and the other lost one foot, and the woman lost either foot by putrefaction. Afterwards he took them to the Court of the lord the king at Ludinglond to try them by the same Court. And when the Court saw

[1] Statute 12 Rich. II. cap. 3.

them, it was loth to try them, because they were not attached for any robbery or misdeed for which they could suffer judgment. And so they were permitted to depart." [1]

How in such a condition the poor creatures could "depart," and what became of them the Assize Rolls do not say. What is certain is that no sort of indemnity was given them to help them to get out of trouble in their horrible condition. The justice of our fathers did not stand upon trifles.

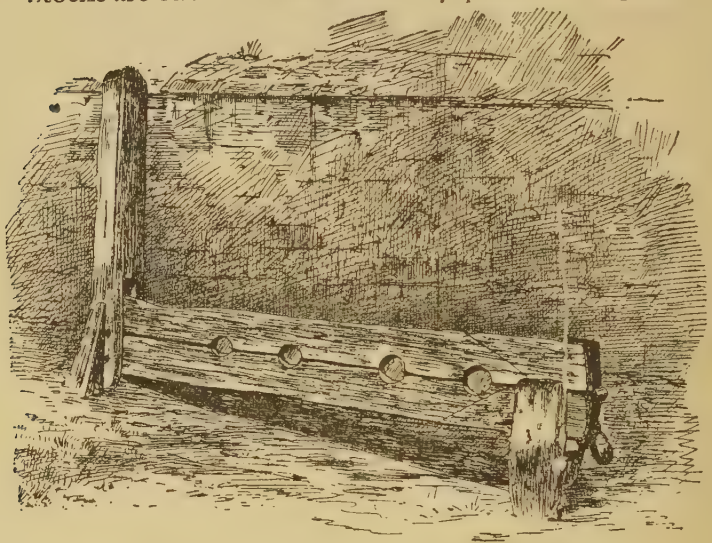
IN THE STOCKS.
(*From the MS.* 10 *E. IV.*)

The stocks, which according to the laws of Richard II. were always to be kept in good condition ready for use, consisted of two beams one placed on the other. At the right distances round holes were pierced at the line of junction; the upper beam was raised, and the legs of the prisoners were passed through the holes; sometimes there was a third beam in the openings of which the wrists of the poor wretches were also caught; the body sometimes rested on a stool, sometimes on the

[1] "Gleanings from the Public Records," by Mr. H. Hewlett, in the "Antiquary," March, 1882 (vol. v. p. 99). Concerning ill-treatment inflicted upon prisoners, see a petition of the Commons, 1 Ed. III., A.D. 1326–7, "Rolls of Parliament," vol. ii. pp. 9, 12.

ground. In certain places the stocks were pretty high; they only placed the sufferer's legs in it and he remained thus, his body stretched on the ground in the damp, his head lower than his feet; but this refinement of cruelty was not habitual.[1]

Stocks are still to be seen in many places in England;



THE STOCKS AT SHALFORD, NEAR GUILDFORD.
(*Present state.*)

for instance, in the picturesque village of Abinger, where they stand on the green, near the churchyard. Others in a very good state of preservation are in existence at Shalford, near Guildford. It is not very long since stocks ceased to be used in England; vagabonds and

[1] See, besides the above engravings, representations of these instruments of punishment in Foxe, "Actes and Monuments," London, 1563, fol. pp. 390, 1272, &c.

drunkards were seen in them within the memory of men who are not old at the present day. According to their remembrance people when released felt so benumbed that they were scarcely able to stand, and experienced great difficulty in getting away.

But the threat of prisons so unhealthy and of stocks so unpleasant did not deter or hold back the workers, weary of being attached to the soil. Every pretext for leaving their neighbourhood was welcome to them; they even dared employ that of a journey for devotion. They set out, staff in hand, "under colour of going far on a pilgrimage," and never returned. But a new restraint was to be employed to tame this turbulent spirit, the obligation that every one furnish himself with true letters of travel or passports, in order to move from one county to another. No one might leave his village if he did not bring a "letter patent containing the cause of his going and the date of his return, if he were to return." In other words, even when there was the right to go and settle definitively elsewhere, it was necessary to have a permit for moving in order to go away. These letters would be sealed by a "good man" (*prod homme*), assigned in each hundred, city, or borough, by the justices of the peace, and special seals were to be expressly made, said the statute, bearing in the middle the king's arms, the name of the county around, and that of the hundred, city, or borough across. The case even of fabricating false letters was foreseen, which shows what a burning wish to quit their neighbourhoods was felt to be in persons of this class. Every individual surprised without regular papers was put into prison provisionally.

The beggars were treated as "servants" who had no "testimonial letters." [1] What was insisted on was to retain as many people as possible permanent, and thus to hinder the disquieting peregrinations of these rovers. As to the beggars incapable of working, they must also cease frequenting the highroads; they shall end their life in the city where they may be found at the time of the proclamation, or at most in some town near to that in which they were born; they will be taken

A CRIPPLE AND OTHER BEGGARS.
(*From the MS.* 10 *E. IV.*)

there within forty days, and will remain there "for the rest of their lives."

What is stranger, and what in default of other proofs would show to which class students then belonged, is that they are comprised in the same category; they were accustomed on returning to their neighbourhood, or on making pilgrimages or going to the university, to hold out the hand to passers-by and to knock at the doors as they went along. They were likened to the

[1] 12 Rich. II. cap. 7.

beggars, and were put into irons if they had not the regulation letter; this document was to be given to them by the Chancellor, that is the only difference "And that the scholars of the universities that go so begging have letters testimonial of their Chancellor upon the same pain." [1]

Again, in the following year (1389), a new statute reproves the custom of "artificers, labourers, servants," &c., who keep for their own use harriers and other dogs, and on "feast days, when good Christians are at church hearing Divine service," get into the parks and warrens of the lords, and destroy all the game. Much more, they profit by these occasions when they meet together armed, without fear of being disturbed, to "hold their assemblies, conversations, and conspiracies, to rise against and disobey their allegiance." Certainly the close thickets of the seignorial forests must have sheltered meetings of this kind more than once during church service time before the great revolt of 1381; in such retreats no doubt were brought forth some of the stirring and active ideas which were transported from place to place, by the wanderers, and which made the people of different counties understand the common ties which united them together.

In such a revolt as this, the part taken by the wandering class is considerable, and there is every reason why the historian should not neglect it. If we do not take count of this element, it is impossible to explain the importance and the extent of a movement which nearly had consequences parallel to those of the French Revolution. "I had lost my heritage and the

[1] 12 Rich. II. cap. 7. Cf. above, p. 232.

kingdom of England," said Richard II. on the evening of the day when his presence of mind saved him ; and he was right. Why was the Jacquerie in France a common and powerless rising compared to the English revolt? The reasons are manifold, but one of the chief was the absence of a class of wayfarers as strong and numerous as that of England. This class served to unite all the people : by its means those of the South told their ideas to those of the North, what each suffered and desired ; the sufferings and wishes were not identical, but it sufficed to understand that all had reforms to demand. Thus, when it was known that the revolt had begun, the people rose on all sides, and it was clear then that each desired a different good and that the associated bands pursued different objects ; but the basis of the contention being the same, and all wishing for more independence, they marched in concert without being otherwise acquainted than by the intermediary of the wayfarers. The kings of England, indeed, had perceived the danger, and on different occasions they had promulgated statutes bearing especially on the talk indulged in by the wanderers on their travels about the nobles, prelates, judges, and all the depositaries of public strength. Edward I. had said in one of his laws :

"Forasmuch as there have been oftentimes found in the country devisors of tales, whereby discord, or occasion of discord, hath many times arisen between the king and his people, or great men of this realm ; for the damage that hath and may thereof ensue, it is commanded, that from henceforth none be so hardy to tell or publish any false news or tales, whereby discord, or occasion of discord, or slander may grow between the king and his

people, or the great men of the realm; and he that doth so, shall be taken and kept in prison, until he hath brought him into the court who was the first author of the tale." [1]

The danger of such speeches, which touched the acts and even the thoughts of the great men of the kingdom, became menacing anew under Richard II., and in the first years of his reign the following statute was promulgated, reinforcing that of 1275:

"Item, Of devisors of false news and reporters of horrible and false lyes, concerning prelates, dukes, earls, barons, and other nobles and great men of the realm, and also concerning the chancellor, treasurer, clerk of the privy seal, steward of the king's house, justices of the one bench or of the other, and of other great officers of the realm about things which by the said prelates, lords, nobles, and officers aforesaid were never spoken, done, *nor thought*, . . . whereby debates and discords might arise betwixt the said lords or between the Lords and the Commons, which God forbid, and whereof great peril and mischief might come to all the realm, and quick subversion and destruction of the said realm, if due remedy be not provided: it is straitly defended upon grievous pain, for to eschew the said damages and perils, that from henceforth none be so hardy to devise, speak, or to tell any false news, lyes, or other such false things, of prelates, lords, and of other aforesaid, whereof discord or any slander might rise within the same realm; and he that doth the same shall incur and have the pain another time ordained

[1] Statute 3 Ed. I. stat. 1. cap. 34, A.D. 1275.

thereof by the statute of Westminster the first." [1] But this statute was passed in vain; two years later broke out the revolt of the peasants.

In mediæval France during and after the wars the roads belonged solely to pillaging brigands who were born workmen or knights. Soldiers who represented the dregs of the highest and the lowest classes were intent upon robbing the rest of society; the road resounded with the noise of arms, the peasant hid himself; troops equipped for the defence of the land attacked everything without scruple that was less strong than themselves and worth robbing; such people "turn French," as Froissart puts it, and turn English according to the interest of the moment. The vagrants threatened by the English law were of another kind, and whatever the number of brigands among them these were not in the majority; the remainder of the peasants sympathized with instead of fearing them. Thus the English revolt was not a desperate enterprise; it was conducted with extraordinary coolness and good sense. The insurgents showed a calm feeling of their strength which strikes us, and which struck much more the knights in London; they were men who marched with their eyes open, who, if they destroyed much, wished also to reform. It was possible to treat and to come to an understanding with them; in truth, the word and pledge given them will be broken, and the revolt will be smothered in blood; but whatever the Lords and Commons sitting at Westminster may say of it, the new bonds will not have the tenacity of the old ones, and a really great step towards freedom will have been made. In France, the

[1] Statute 2 Rich. II. cap. 5.

beast of burden, ill-nourished, ill-treated, fretted by the harness, went along shaking his head with a wan eye and a languishing step; his furious kicks only caused new weights to be added to the load which crushed him, that was all; centuries were to pass before he would obtain anything else.

BLIND BEGGAR AND HIS DOG.
(*From the MS.* 10 *E. IV.*)

PART III.

RELIGIOUS WAYFARERS.

A FRIAR ON A JOURNEY (CHAUCER'S "FRERE").
(*From the Ellesmere MS.*)

CHAPTER I.

WANDERING PREACHERS AND FRIARS.

WHILE the sentiment of wants and of common desires spread everywhere, by means of that crowd of workpeople whom we find in England ceaselessly moving in spite of the statutes, the guiding ideas were spread and made common by another kind of roamer, the preachers. Sprung also from the people, they had studied ; as we have seen it was not necessary to be rich in order to go through the course at Oxford ; the villeins even sent their children there, and the Commons, not very liberal in spirit as we know, protested against this emancipation of another kind, this advancement by means of learning, "avancement par clergie." They protested in vain, and the king replied to their request, that he would think of it, "le roi s'avisera"

(1391). This was then, and is to-day, the form of royal refusal.[1] These clerks knew what was the condition of the people; they knew the miseries of the poor, which were those of their father and mother and of themselves, and the intellectual culture they had received enabled them to transform into precise conceptions the vague aspirations of the labourers of the soil. The first are not less necessary than the second to every important social movement; both may be indispensable to the formation of the tool, but it is these precise conceptions which form the blade.

The roaming preachers knew how to sharpen it, and they were numerous. Those whom Wyclif sent to popularize his doctrines, his "simple priests" did just what others had done before them; they imitated their forerunners, and no more limited themselves to expounding the rather undemocratic theories of their master than the mendicant friars, friends of revolution, kept to the precepts of the gospel. Their sympathies were with the people, and they showed it in their discourses. Wyclif contributed to increase the body of these wanderers; his people were not greatly to be distinguished from the others; and if it was easy to find clerks who would fulfil the duties he desired, it was because many in the kingdom were already prepared for such a mission, and only waited their opportunity.

All, in fact, did the same kind of work; they scoured the country, drawing together the poor and attracting them by harangues filled with what unfortunates always like to hear. This was clearly visible when revolt broke out, and the ordinances then passed show clearly how

[1] "Rolls of Parliament," vol. iii. p. 294.

much the influence of the wandering preachers was feared. Their habits and speech even are there reported; these malcontents have an austere aspect, they go "from county to county, and from town to town in certain habits under dissimulation of great holiness." Naturally they dispense with the ecclesiastical papers with which the regular preachers ought to be furnished; they are "without the licence of our Holy Father the Pope, or of the Ordinaries of the places, or other sufficient authority." They preach not only in churches; they seek public places, markets, street corners where the crowd assembles "not only in churches and churchyards, but also in markets, fairs, and other open places where a great congregation of people is." And it is not of theology that they are willing to speak, it is truly the social question which at bottom preoccupies them; on their lips the religious sermon becomes a political harangue; "which persons," continues the ordinance, "do also preach divers matters of slander, to engender discord and dissension betwixt divers estates of the said realm as well spiritual as temporal, in exciting of the people, to the great peril of all the realm." They are cited to appear before the ecclesiastic authority, the ordinaries, but they take care not to make submission, and refuse to "obey to their summons and commandments." Let the sheriffs and other king's officers henceforth watch with care these wandering preachers and send to prison those who are not in due order.[1]

We may gain an idea of their speeches by recalling

[1] Statute 5 Rich. II., 2, cap 5.

the celebrated harangue of the priest John Ball;[1] the type of these travelling orators. Certainly, in the Latin phrase of the "Chronicle of England," his thoughts take too solemn and too correct a form, but all that we know of the sentiments of the multitude confirms the substance of it so well that the basis of the discourse cannot have differed from what the chronicler has transmitted to us. The popular saying quoted before serves as John Ball's text, and he developes it in this manner:

"At the beginning we were all created equal; it is the tyranny of perverse men which has caused slavery to arise, in spite of God's law; if God had willed that there should be slaves He would have said at the beginning of the world who should be slave and who should be lord."[2]

What rendered him strong was that he found his best weapons in the Bible; he appealed from it to the good feelings of the men of the people, to their virtue, their reason; he showed that the Divine Word accorded with their interest; they would be "like the good father of a family who cultivates his field and plucks up the weeds." The same ideas are attributed to him by almost all the chroniclers. Froissart describes his doings in almost the same words as the statute already quoted, as preaching in the open air when he found a congregation of people, especially on Sundays, when the peasants stood in the churchyard after mass. The

[1] He has often been considered a Wyclifite; but while in many things alike, he did not share all the master's notions, and, on the other hand, had some proper to himself; thus, according to him, natural children could not go to heaven.

[2] "Chronicon Angliæ," 1328–1388, ed. E. Maunde Thompson, 1874 (Rolls Series), p. 321.

"WHEN ADAM DELVED AND EVE SPAN." [*p.* 283.

(*The motto of John Ball's speech illustrated from the MS.* 2 *B.* vii. *Fourteenth Century.*)

words he puts in his mouth are nearly the same as those attributed to him by the "Chronicon Angliæ": "This preest," says Froissart, "vsed often tymes on the sondayes after masse, whanne the people were goynge out of the mynster, to go into the cloyster and preche, and made the people to assemble about hym, and wolde say thus: A ye good people, the maters gothe nat well to passe in Englande, nor shall nat do tyll euery thyng be common, and that there be no villayns nor gentylmen. . . . What haue we deserued or why shulde we be kept thus in seruage? we be all come fro one father and one mother, Adam and Eve: wherby can they say or shewe that they be gretter lordes than we be, sauynge by that they cause vs to wyn and labour, for that they dispende . . . they dwell in fayre houses, and we haue the payne and traueyle, rayne and wynde in the feldes; and by that that cometh of our labours they kepe and maynteyne their estates. . . . Lette vs go to the kyng, he is yonge, and shewe hym what seruage we be in. . . . Thus Johan [Ball] sayd on sondayes whan the people issued out of the churches in the vyllages; . . . and so they wolde murmure one with another in the feldes and in the wayes as they want togyder, affermyng howe Johan Ball sayd trouthe."[1]

So the enthusiastic multitude promised to make this apostle archbishop and chancellor of that kingdom in which he dreamed he should see "equal liberty, equal greatness, equal power"[2] for all; but he was taken, drawn, hanged, beheaded, and quartered,[2] and his dream remained a dream.

[1] Lord Berners' "Froissart," cap. cccIxxxi. ed. 1812, p. 641.

[2] "Chronicon Angliæ," 1328–1388, Thompson's edition, 1874, p. 322.

Meanwhile, politics aside, there might yet be found in the fourteenth century some of God's chosen ones who, alarmed by the crimes of the world and the state of sin in which men lived, left their cells or the paternal roof to go round among villages and towns and preach conversion. There remained some of them, but they were rare. Contrary to others, these did not speak of public affairs, but of eternal interests; they had not always received sacred orders; they presented themselves as volunteers to the celestial army. Such a man in England was Richard Rolle of Hampole, whose life was partly that of a hermit, partly of a wandering preacher. He was neither monk, nor doctor, nor priest; when young, he had abandoned his father's house to go and lead a contemplative life in the solitude of the country. There he meditated, prayed, and mortified himself; crowds came to his cell to listen to his exhortations; he had ecstatic trances; his friends took off his ragged cloak, mended it, and put it back on his shoulders without his perceiving it. To add to his troubles the devil tempted him "under the form," says the anchorite himself, "of a very beautiful young woman whom he had seen before, who had had a very great love for him." With great difficulty he escaped the temptation. He afterwards left his retreat, and during a long time he travelled over the north of England, "changing place continually," preaching to lead men to salvation. Finally he settled at Hampole, where he ended his life in retreat, writing incessantly, and edifying all the neighbourhood by his devotion (1349). Scarcely was he dead when his tomb became an object of pilgrimage, pious people brought offerings there, miracles were

accomplished. In the convent of nuns at Hampole, which drew great honour from the vicinity of his tomb, there was immediately composed an "Office of St. Richard, the hermit," destined to be sung when he should be canonized. But the Office of the old hermit and wandering preacher has never been sung down to the present day.[1]

The wandering preachers who were met with in the villages were not always Lollards sent by Wyclif, nor inspired men who, like Rolle of Hampole, held their mission from God; they were often members of an immense and powerful caste sub-divided into several orders, that of the mendicant friars. The two principal orders were the Dominicans, preachers or black friars, and the Franciscans, friars minor or grey friars, both established in England in the thirteenth century,[2] "men of this [world] that most wide walken," said Langland.[3] We must not allow the amusing satires of Chaucer to blind our eyes to the initial merit of these orders, nor to show us in the mendicant orders nothing, from the beginning, but impudent and idle vagabonds, at once impious, superstitious, and rapacious. The following portrait is well-known:

"A Frere ther was, a wantoun and a merye
* * * * *

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1 "English Prose Treatises of Richard Rolle of Hampole," edited by Rev. George Perry, 1866 (Early English Text Society), Preface, pp. ix, xv–xix. See before, p. 137.

2 The Dominicans in 1221; the Franciscans in 1224. See Dr. Jessopp, "The Coming of the Friars," London, 1888, pp. 32–34.

3 "Vision," Text C, pas. xi. l. 14.

Ful wel biloved, and famulier was he
With frankeleyns overal in his cuntre,
And eek with worthi wommen of the toun:
* * * * *
Ful sweetly herde he confessioun,
And plesaunt was his absolucioun.
He was an esy man to yeve penance,
Ther as he wiste to han a good pitance;
For unto a povre ordre for to geve
Is signe that a man is wel i-shreve.
* * * * *
He knew wel the tavernes in every toun,
And every ostiller or gay tapstere."[1]

A WORLDLY ECCLESIASTIC.
(*From the MS.* 10 *E. IV.*)

In Chaucer's days, there were many such friars, but there were also exceptions. I do not speak merely of those, rather rare in the fourteenth century, who,

[1] Prologue to "Canterbury Tales," ed. Morris, vol. ii. p. 7, 8.

living among the poor, continued the traditions of their order, poor as they and being besides experienced, devout, and compassionate : Chaucer's friar was not of those, and was afraid of acquaintance with "a lazer or a beggere" and of dealing "with such poraile." But even among those who lived outside of the rule, there were men whose thoughts were less base, however dangerous they might be. I speak of the friars who may be confounded with the simple priests of their enemy Wyclif, and who were certainly comprised along with them in the statute of 1382. It is certain that many friars, in their roaming career, like the priest John Ball preached the new doctrines of emancipation in the open spaces and markets. Hence alone among all the clergy at the moment of revolt they still preserved a certain popularity ; and the monastic chroniclers, their natural enemies, in their narrations, complacently parade this new grievance against the detested orders.[1] Langland, who cursed the revolt, cursed also the friars for having a part of responsibility in it. Envy has spoken into their ears and said : study logic, law, and the hollow dreams of philosophers, and go from village to village proving that all property ought to be in common,

"and prouen hit by Seneca
That alle thyng vnder heuene ouhte to beo in comune."[2]

[1] Jack Straw, according to the confession which his contemporary the monk Thomas Walsingham relates of him, would have liked to keep no other ecclesiastics on the earth but the mendicant friars; "Soli mendicantes vixissent super terram qui suffecissent pro sacris celebrandis aut conferendis universæ terræ" ("Historia Anglicana," vol. ii. p. 10, Rolls Series, 1867–69).

[2] "Piers Plowman," Skeat's edition, Text C, pass. xxiii. l. 274.

Always armed with good sense, Langland plainly declares that the author of these subversive theories lies; the Bible says, "Thou shalt not covet thy neighbour's goods." Formerly the life of the friars was exemplary, Charity dwelt among them; this was in the days of St. Francis.[1]

And indeed, what a holy mission their founder had given them! Coarsely dressed, barefoot, and ill-fed, they were to go into the towns and visit the poorest and more closely populated suburbs, to seek out the lost.

"And all the brothers," said Francis, in his rule, "are to be clad in mean habits, and may blessedly mend them with sacks and other pieces; whom I admonish and exhort, that they do not despise or censure such men as they see clad in curious and gay garments and using delicate meats and drinks, but rather let every one judge and despise himself." They must never quarrel, but be "meek, peacable, modest, mild and humble. . . . And they are not to ride unless some manifest necessity or infirmity oblige them. Whatsoever house they go into, they shall first say, 'Peace be unto this house,' and, according to the Gospel, it shall be lawful for them to eat of all meats that are set before them." They must beg in order to get the necessaries of life, but they must receive them in kind, never in money. "The brothers shall not make anything their own, neither house nor place, nor any other thing; and they shall go confidently to beg alms like pilgrims and strangers in this world, serving our Lord in poverty and humility."[2]

[1] "Piers Plowman," Skeat's edition, Text C, pass. xvii. l. 352.

[2] "The Rule and Life of the Friars Minors," in Dugdale's "Monasticon Anglicanum," London, 1817, vol. vi. p. 1504.

All the miseries, all the hideous uglinesses of humanity, were to appeal to their sympathy; and the lower classes in return would love and venerate them like saints. Eccleston relates that a friar minor once, without permission, put on his sandals to go to matins. He dreamt afterwards that he was arrested by robbers, who cried out, "Kill him! Kill him!" "But I am a friar minor," said he, sure of being respected. "Thou liest, for thou art not barefoot!"[1] The first of their duties was to remain poor, in order to be able, having nothing to lose, fearlessly to use firm language to the rich and powerful of the world. They were reminded of this by the wise and courageous Robert Grossetête, Bishop of Lincoln, on his death-bed, in 1253, and he cited to them appropriately this line of Juvenal: "Cantabit vacuus coram latrone viator." The friars were to be like the traveller without money, whose peace of mind is never disturbed by meeting robbers.[2]

St. Francis would not have wished his friars to be lettered men; he has been unjustly reproached with it. With wisdom he forbade those subtle theological and metaphysical researches which uselessly absorbed the life of the great clerics. There were enough of others who would give themselves up continually to this. What he desired was to send through the world a race

[1] Thomas of Eccleston, author of the "Liber de adventu minorum in Angliam" (published by Brewer in his "Monumenta Franciscana"), saw the most flourishing period of the lesser orders. His book is of extreme *naïveté* and abounds in narratives of visions and of marvellous deeds. The vision here in question will be found at page 28 of the "Monumenta," 1858 (Rolls Series).

[2] Matthew Paris, "Historia Anglorum," London, 1866, vol. iii. p. 145 (Rolls Series).

of missionaries who would devote themselves materially and physically to the welfare, body and soul, of all the weary. Thus understood, the disinterestedness was much more absolute, the servitude more voluntary, and the effect on the masses greater. The subtlety of teachers was not necessary for them; and the striking example of the poverty of the consoler, heedless of his own pain, was the best of consolations. Above all, the pride of the apostle must be killed, the greatness of his merit must be apparent to God only. When the heart is purified to this point it has a sufficient comprehension of life and of its highest motives to be naturally eloquent; the study of the "Summæ," in repute, is useless. But too many dangers surrounded this sublime foundation, and the first was knowledge itself. "The Emperor Charles," once said the Saint, "Roland and Oliver, and all the paladins and all strong men, have pursued the infidel in battle till death, and with great trouble and labour have won their memorable victories. The holy martyrs died struggling for the with of Christ. But in our days there are persons who seek glory and honour among men by the narration simply of the exploits of heroes. In like manner there are some among you who take more pleasure in writing and preaching on the merits of the saints than in imitating their works." This reply St. Francis made to a novice who wished to have a psalter. He added in a rather sarcastic vein, "When you have a psalter you will wish to have a breviary, and when you have a breviary you will sit in a chair like a great prelate, and will say to your brother, 'Brother, fetch me my breviary!'" [1]

[1] "Speculum Vitæ B. Francisci et sociorum ejus"; opera fratris, Guil. Spoelberch, Antwerp, 1620, part i. cap. 4.

The popularity of the friars was immense, and it was soon found that they had monopolized in England [1] everything that concerned religion.[2] By a curious contradiction, their poverty had attracted riches to them, and their self-denial power; the hovels where they lodged at first had become sumptuous monasteries with chapels as large as cathedrals; the rich had themselves buried there, in tombs chiselled with the latest refinements of the florid Gothic. Their apologists of the fifteenth century relate with admiration that in their fine library at London there was a tomb ornamented with four archangels;[3] that their church, begun in 1306, was three hundred feet long, ninety-five wide, and sixty-four feet high, with the columns all of marble as well as the pavement. Kings and princes had enriched this building; some had given the altars, others the stalls; Edward III., "for the repose of the soul of the most illustrious Queen Isabella, buried in the choir," repaired the great middle window, which had been blown down

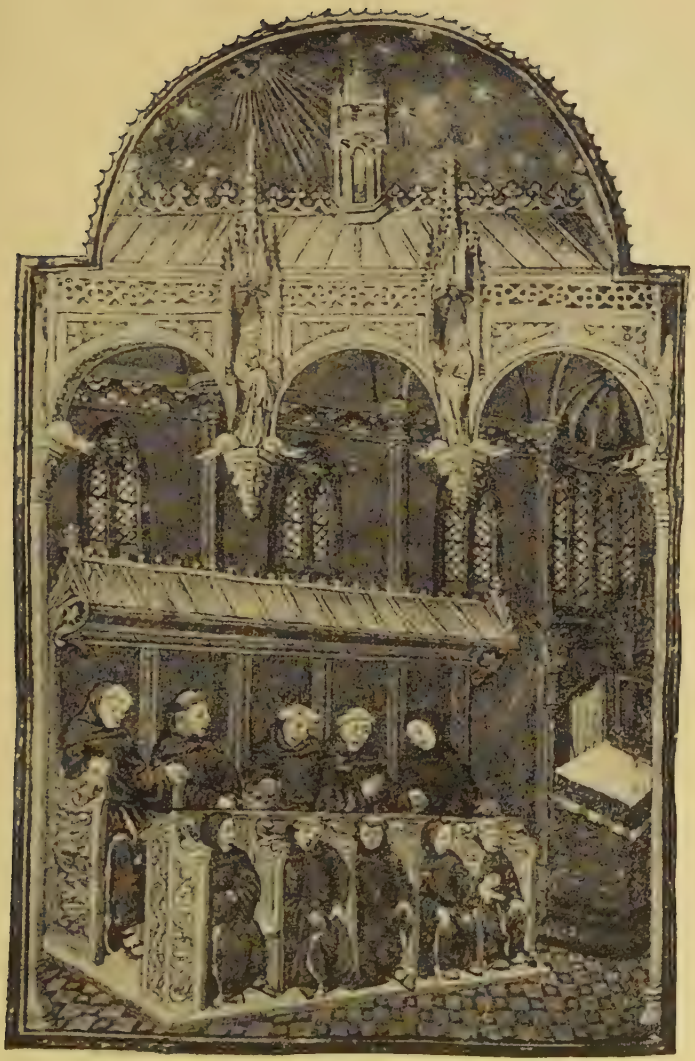
[1] Thirty-two years after the friars had appeared in England, they already possessed forty-nine convents ("Monumenta Franciscana," ed. Brewer, 1858, p. 10, Rolls Series). In Matthew Paris will be found a very good description of the action of the friars minor in England on their arrival here, of the poor, humble, and useful life that they led at first ("Historia Anglorum," ed. Madden, 1866, vol. ii. p. 109).

[2] See the "Defensionem curatorum contra eos qui privilegiatos se dicunt" (4to, undated), a speech made in 1357, by Richard Fitz-Ralph, Archbishop of Armagh, in which are denounced the successive encroachments of the mendicant friars in detriment of curates and other ecclesiastics.

[3] "Monumenta Franciscana," *ut supra*, pp. 514, &c. This library had been founded by the celebrated Richard Whittington, Mayor of London in 1397, 1406, and 1419.

by the wind. There was in the same church the heart of the Queen Eleanor, mother of Edward I. Relating that it was placed there, the monk Rishanger, a contemporary, makes the following cruel remark, which Walsingham does not fail to reproduce in his "Historia Anglicana."[1] "Her body was buried in the monastery of Ambresbury, but her heart in London, in the church of the Minorites, who, like all friars of other orders, claim for themselves something of the bodies of any powerful persons dying; after the manner of the dogs assembling at the dead bodies, where each one greedily awaits his portion to devour." Gilbert de Clare, Earl of Gloucester, had given for the same building twenty trunks of trees from his forest of Tunbridge. Rich merchants, the mayor, the aldermen, followed the example. The names of the donors were inscribed on the windows, and Langland was indignant, and recalled the gospel precept, "Let not thy left hand know what thy right hand doeth." We learn thus that the third window on the west had been given by Walter Mordon, merchant of salted cod, *Stokefyschmonger*, and Mayor of London. The second window on the south is due to John of Charlton, knight, and his wife, their arms figure in it; the fourth to Walter de Gorst, fellmonger of London; the fifth to the Earl of Lancaster; the fourth on the west arises from "the product of various collections, and thus it does not bear a name." One of the donors is styled the special father and friend of the friar minors. It must have been a triumph for the Wyclifites to reproach the friars with all these mundane splendours; Wyclif returns to it again and again:

[1] Year 1291–92.



PSALM SINGING. THE INTERIOR OF A FRIAR'S CHURCH.
(*From the MS. Domit. A.* xvii., *in the British Museum.*) [*p.* 295.

"Freris bylden mony grete chirchis and costily waste housis, and cloystris as hit were castels, and that withoute nede. . . . Grete housis make not men holy, and onely by holynesse is God wel served."[1]

Interminable lists, too, of cardinals, bishops, and kings who have belonged to the order are drawn up, not forgetting even "certain persons of importance in the world," which is quite a mundane vanity. Finally, they point out the dead who at the last moment assumed the habit of the friars: "Brother Sir Roger Bourne, knight, buried at Norwich in the friar's habit, 1334."[2]

The pride and riches of the Dominicans are quite as great. The author of "Pierce the Ploughman's Crede," towards the end of the fourteenth century, describes minutely, but without exaggeration, one of their convents, the splendid columns to be seen there, the sculptures, paintings, and gildings that adorn the chapel, the magnificent coloured windows ornamented with the arms of the nobles or the mark of the merchants who have given them, the imposing tombs of knights and ladies stretched out in brilliant dress heightened with gold.[3]

[1] Wyclif's "Select English Works," ed. Thos. Arnold, 1869, vol. iii. p. 380.

[2] "Monumenta Franciscana," p. 541. Thence the reproaches of the satirists:

"Of these frer mynours me thenkes moch wonder,
That waxen are thus hauteyn, that som tyme weren under."

Thomas Wright's "Political Poems and Songs," 1859, vol. i. p. 268 (Rolls Series).

[3] "Pierce the Ploughman's Crede," edited by Rev. W. W. Skeat, 1867, Early English Text Society, pp. 7–9. The author of this poem is unknown. Professor Skeat, with every probability,

We see that the proportions are reversed; as great as the modesty required by the holy founder now was the pride. The faults with which Chaucer reproaches them creep in among them; they become interested, greedy, rapacious; mendicity is their trade, which some practice well, others better; miracles of self-denial are demanded of them, and behold, on the contrary, prodigies of selfishness. It is no longer religion, it is their order which must be protected. We have seen that many meddle with social questions, others preach no longer on behalf of Christ, but on behalf of the order; the transfer is complete. All borrow largely from the treasure of good works amassed by their first apostles and spend it madly. The respect of the multitude lessens, their renown for holiness is weakened, they cast into the other scale of the balance so many faults and disorders that it overweighs. And what remains henceforth? Superstition replaces holy customs; they have learned metaphysics, but it is a gross materialism which at last masks the superhuman ideal of Francis of Assisi. Contact with their habit represents a good action; if the dress is assumed on the death-bed the demons will take flight. It is a cuirass without defect. They have had numberless visions which have revealed to them all these articles of a new faith: "Thei techen lordis and namely ladies," says Wyclif, "that if they dyen in Fraunceys habite, thei schul nevere cum in helle for vertu therof." [1]

believes him to have been the same who wrote the "Complaint of the Ploughman," printed in Wright's "Political Poems," vol. i. pp. 304–346. [L. T. S.]

[1] "Select English Works," vol. iii. p. 382. A satire of the

And so it came to pass that, not only the poets like Chaucer and Langland, not only the reformers like Wyclif, but the monks also of old-established orders, waged open war against the friars. To which they were moved partly, it is true, by jealousy, when they saw these newly created brotherhoods rising in importance, in number and in wealth, but partly, also, by the sight of undeniable abuses and worldliness. It seems to day almost incredible that in those ages, vaguely spoken of as ages of faith, a monk writing the chronicle of his convent may have inserted in the pages of his grave work, composed, if I may say so, by authority, such descriptions of the behaviour of the friars as Chaucer's contemporary, the monk Thomas Walsingham did, when, in St. Alban's abbey, he wrote his History of England. "The friars," says he, "unmindful of their profession, have even forgotten to what end their orders were instituted; for the holy men their law-givers desired them to be poor and free of all kind of temporal possessions, that they should not have anything which they might fear to lose on account of saying the truth. But now they are envious of

fourteenth century contains the following lines to the same effect:

"Isti fratres prædicant per villas et forum
Quod si mortem gustet quis in habitu minorum
Non intrabit postea locum tormentorum,
Sed statim perducitur ad regna cœlorum."

But if a poor person asks burial in one of their privileged churches,

"Gardianus absens est, statim respondetur
Et sic satis breviter pauper excludetur."

(Wright's "Political Poems," Rolls Series, vol. i. pp. 256–57.)

possessors, approve the crimes of the great, induce the commonalty into error, and praise the sins of both ; and with the intent of acquiring possessions, they who had renounced possessions, with the intent of gathering money, they who had sworn to persevere in poverty, call good evil and evil good, leading astray princes by adulation, the people by lies, and drawing both with

SPRINKLING DINERS WITH HOLY WATER.
(*From the MS.* 10 *E. IV.*)

themselves out of the straight path." Walsingham adds that a familiar proverb in his time was, "He is a friar, therefore a liar" ("Hic est frater, ergo mendax").[1]

The sanctity of the institution and the unworthiness of a great many of its representatives, caused it to be at once venerated and detested ; however contemptible be

[1] "Historia Anglicana," 1867–69, vol. ii. p. 13 (Rolls Series).

the man, you could not be certain that he had not the keys of heaven, and respect mingled with fear in the sentiment felt towards him. Thus poets laughed at the friars, popular story-tellers scouted them; distrust, doubt, contempt spread, rising from the mere friar to the bishop himself; clerics were caricatured on the very stalls upon which they sat; Master Reynard was represented delivering a sermon while wearing episcopalian insignia, and the miniaturist, charged with illuminating an imposing volume of Decretals, was not afraid to satirize people belonging to the church, whether bishops, monks, or mere clerks. One of these last is shown forgetting in the kitchen his sprinkler and bucket of holy water; then remembering what he has come for and going to sprinkle the masters at table, he returns afterwards to the cook-girl.[1] In the same spirit the author of a popular song of the fourteenth century says:

"Preste ne monke ne yit chanoun
Ne no man of religioun
Gyfen hem so to devocioun
As done thes holy frers.
For summe gyven ham to chyvalry,
Somme to riote and ribaudery;
Bot ffrers gyven ham to grete study,
And to grete prayers."

Then follow several stanzas containing precise accusations, the details of which cannot be quoted.[2]

The people, nevertheless, saw in the friars their pro-

[1] Brit. Mus. MS. Roy. 10 E. IV., fol. 100 and following folios. See also in MS. 17 Cxv. in the British Museum a satirical picture of a "ffryer."

[2] Wright's "Political Poems," vol. i. p. 263.

tectors and allies in case of revolt, though at other times they pursued them in the streets with stones. Irritated by the "proud behaviour" of the preaching friars, they hunted them down, maltreated them, and demanded their extermination. They dealt no better with the minorites: they pulled off their coats and sacked their houses, "by the instigation of the evil spirit," and did this in different places in the kingdom; in 1385 it was necessary to have a royal proclamation to protect them.[1]

The Commons were indignant at the number of foreigners among the friars, who were a permanent danger to the State. They demanded "that all the alien friars, of whatever habit they might be, should void the realm before the Feast of St. Michael, and if they remained beyond the said feast they should be held as out of the common law" [*i.e.*, outlawed].[2]

The friars kept their assurance, they were blessed in the days of their good actions; now they speak much and make themselves feared; it is to the Pope alone

[1] "At the same time (20 E. II.) the preaching friars took to flight because they feared to be maltreated and ruined, because the commonalty bore with them very reluctantly, on account of their proud behaviour, for they did not behave as friars ought" ("Croniques de London," ed. Aungier, Camden Society, p. 54).

"Know ye, that we have understood, that some persons of our kingdom of England, by the instigation of the evil spirit, . . . do and daily strive to do harm and scandal to our beloved in Christ, the religious men, friars of the order of minors, . . . openly and secretly stirring up our people against them to destroy the houses of the said friars, tearing their habits from them, striking some, and ill-treating them, against our peace" (Proclamation of Richard II. in 1385. Rymer's "Fœdera," ed. 1704, vol. vii. p. 458).

[2] "Rolls of Parliament," 20 E. III., vol. ii. p. 162, A.D. 1346.

they are amenable; they may go on without bowing to any one, their power is independent, they have become a church within the Church. Along with the priest who preaches and confesses in his parish is found the wandering friar, who preaches and confesses everywhere; his universal presence is a source of conflicts; the parish priest finds himself abandoned; the religious wayfarer brings the unknown, the extraordinary, and everybody runs to him. He lays down his staff and wallet and begins to talk; his language is that of the people, the whole parish is present, he occupies himself with their eternal welfare, and also with their earthly matters; for lay life is familiar to him, and he can give appropriate advice. But his teaching is sometimes suspicious. "These false prophets," says (not Wyclif, but) the Council of Saltzburg of 1386, "by their sermons full of fables often lead astray the souls of their hearers," they make game of the authority of the parish priests.[1] What power could resist? The tide rose and swept away the embankments; the excellent became the worst, *corruptio optimi pessima*, and the old adage was verified to the letter. Every class of society had grievances against them, lords, bishops, monks, Wyclif's followers, and the men of the people; still they kept their place; men found them everywhere at the same time, in the cabin and in the castle, begging from the rich and knocking also at the door of the poor. They sat down at the table of the lord, who treated them with consideration; with him they played the part of the fashionable religious man; they interested, they pleased. Wyclif shows them creeping into familiarity

[1] Labbe, "Sacrosancta Concilia," Florence, vol. xxvi. col. 729.

with the great, liking "to speke bifore lordis and sitte at tho mete with hom, . . . also to be confessoures of lordis and ladyes." [1] Langland, in "Piers Plowman," reproaches them in the same way. In a Wyclifite treatise of the same period we read, "Thei geten hem worldly offis in lordis courtis, and summe to ben conseilours and reuleris of werris, and also to ben chamberleyns to lordes and ladies." [2]

On the other hand, they were seen to exercise the most varied callings in the villages where they made their rounds, to their wallet they added store of thread, needles, ointments, with which they traded :

"Thei becomen pedleris, berynge knyues, pursis, pynnys and girdlis and spices and sylk and precious pellure and forrouris for wymmen, and therto smale gentil hondis [dogs], to gete love of hem." [3]

People sung of them, but they continued, and every one laughed :

"Thai wandren here and there,
And dele with dyvers marcerye,
Right as thai pedlers were.
Thai dele with purses, pynnes, and knyves,
With gyrdles, gloves, for wenches and wyves." [4]

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[1] "Select English Works," vol. iii. p. 396.

[2] "The English Works of Wyclif, hitherto unprinted," edited by F. D. Matthew. Early English Text Society, 1880, p. 13. Most of the pieces composing this collection are merely attributed to Wyclif, this one among them. See also Gower's "Vox Clamantis," Roxburghe Club, 1850, p. 228.

[3] "English Works of Wyclif hitherto unprinted," edited by F. D. Matthew, 1880, p. 12.

[4] So also in Chaucer's "Prologue" :

"His typet was ay farsud ful of knyfes
And pynnes, for to yive faire wyfes."

The author of this piece, a contemporary of Chaucer, adds :

> "I was a frere ful many a day
> Therefor the sothe I wate.
> But when I sawe that thair lyvyng
> Acordyd not to thair preching,
> Of I cast my frer clothing,
> And wyghtly went my gate" (my way).[1]

Between the scepticism of the century and blind credulity, superstition flourished. The friars thought they could sell the merits of their order by retail. They were so numerous and prayed so devoutly, that they had a surplus of prayers, and thought they should do well by distributing this superfluous wealth. The friars went about the villages, discounting these invisible riches, and selling to pious souls, under the name of *letters of fraternity*, drafts upon heaven. What is the use of these parchments ? the friars were asked. They give a share in the merits of the whole order of St. Francis. What are they good for ? Wyclif was asked. "Bi siche resouns thinken many men that thes lettris mai do good for to covere mostard pottis." [2]

However depreciated they were at the end of the century, the friars did not lose all hold over the people. Henry IV., of the House of Lancaster, usurped the throne, and soon found that he must reckon with the friars minors. A good many among them were indignant with his enterprise, and preached in the country,

[1] Wright's "Political Poems and Songs," 1859, vol. i. pp. 264 and 268.

[2] "Select English Works," vol. i. p. 381. See also Wright's "Political Poems and Songs," 1859, vol. i. p. 257.

during the first years of his reign, that Richard II. was still living and was the true king. Henry IV. had them imprisoned; one who was brought into his presence reproached him violently for the deposition of Richard: "But I have not usurped the crown, I have been elected," said the king. "The election is null if the legitimate king is living; if he is dead he is dead by your means; if he was killed by you, you can have no title to the throne." "By my head," cried the prince, "I will have thine cut off!" The accused were advised to put themselves at the king's mercy; they refused, and demanded to be regularly tried by a jury. Neither in the city nor in Holborn could any one be found to sit on the jury; inhabitants of Highgate and Islington were obliged to be fetched for the purpose. These men declared the friars to be guilty; the poor wretches were drawn to Tyburn, hung, then beheaded, and their heads were placed on London Bridge (1402). The convent received permission to gather the remains of the condemned and to bury them in a holy spot. The Islington and Highgate jurors came weeping to the Franciscans to implore their pardon for a verdict of which they repented. During several years, in spite of these punishments, friars continued to preach in the country in favour of Richard II., maintaining that he still lived, although Henry IV. had taken care to have a public exhibition of the corpse of that prince in London.[1]

In the fifteenth century, however, the reputation of the friars only grew worse. The abuses of which they

[1] "Eulogium historiarum," ed. Haydon, Rolls Series, London, 1858, vol. iii. p. 392.

were the living personification, reckon among the gravest of those which were to give so many adherents to Luther. If there remained in their ranks men who knew how to die, like that unfortunate friar Forest, who was hung living by chains above a wood fire and slowly roasted, while the reformer, Bishop Latimer, addressed him "with pious exhortations" to force him to repent (1538),[1] the mass of the representatives of their order remained the object of universal contempt. This is one of the few points on which it sometimes happened that Catholics and Protestants agreed. Sir Thomas More, beheaded for the Catholic faith, spoke of the friars in the same tone as his adversary Tyndal, who was strangled for the Protestant faith. In his eyes they are but dangerous vagabonds. He relates, in his "Utopia," the dispute between a friar and a fool, on the question of pauperism. "'You will never,' said the friar, 'get rid of beggars, unless you also make an edict against us friars.' 'Well,' said the fool, 'it is already made, the cardinal passed a very good law against you when he decreed that all vagabonds should be seized and made to work, for you are the greatest vagabonds that can be.' When this was said, and all eyes being turned on the cardinal, they saw he did not disown it; every one, not unwillingly, began to smile, except the friar."[2] The jest is rather heavy; Sir Thomas More, notwithstanding his reputation for wit, often could not

[1] Holinshed, "Chronicles," London, 1587, vol. iii. p. 945. This friar had refused the oath of supremacy.

[2] "Libellus vere aureus . . . de optimo reipublicæ statu deque noua Insula Vtopia . . ." cura P. Ægidii . . . nunc primum . . . editus, Louvain, 1516, lib. i.

do better. The point to be noted is that the friars' name was becoming worse and worse, thanks to the rounds in their own interest made continually among the farms and villages, not now to help the poor people, but, on the contrary, to demand a part of what they had ; we should remark also the close resemblance that the chancellor finds between the mendicant friar and the common hearthless and homeless vagabond.

A GAME OF FOX AND GEESE.
(*From the MS.* 10 *E. IV.*)

CHAPTER II.

THE PARDONERS.

"INDULGENCE" was at first simply a commutation for penance. The punishments inflicted for sins committed were long; fasting and mortification had to be carried on for months and years. The faithful were permitted to transform these interminable chastisements into shorter expiation. Thus a clerk might exchange a year of penance against three thousand lashes, reciting a psalm at each hundred.[1] Tables of such exchanges were drawn up by competent prelates; thus, Theodore, Archbishop of Canterbury, in the ninth century had published a tariff allowing people to be excused of a month's penance on bread and water if they sung instead twelve hundred psalms

[1] According to Hardy, "Registrum palatinum Dunelmense," preface, vol. iii. p. cxxxiv.

with bended knees; for a year's penance the singing was increased, and each course of psalter singing was accompanied with three hundred strokes in the palm of the hand (*palmatæ*). But it was possible to excuse a year's penance and escape at the same time all the psalms, fasts, and strokes on the hand by paying a hundred shillings in alms.[1] In another such table, drawn up by Halitgarius in the same century, we find this additional facility, that if the sinner, sentenced to a month's penance on bread and water, chooses rather the singing of psalms he may be allowed not to kneel, but then instead of twelve hundred he will have to sing fifteen hundred and eighty psalms. He may in the same manner be excused of more than one month, up to twelve,[2] in which last case, if he chooses not to kneel, he will have to sing no less than twenty thousand one hundred and sixty psalms.

Laymen, who had their choice, frequently preferred a payment in money, and the sums thus obtained were usually well employed. We have seen them serve for the support of roads and bridges; they were also applied in re-constructing churches, in helping the sick of a hospital, and in assisting the expenses of numerous public enterprises. The entirety of punishments was taken off by a plenary indulgence; thus Urban II., at the Council of Clermont, granted one to all those who, through pure devotion and not to acquire booty or glory, should go to Jerusalem to fight the infidel.

[1] "Theodori archiepiscopi Cantuariensis pœnitentiale," in Migne's "Patrologia," vol. xcix. col. 938 and 940.

[2] "Halitgarii episcopi Cameracensis liber pœnitentialis," in Migne's "Patrologia," vol. cv. col. 706.

Little by little the idea of a commutation vanished, and was replaced by quite a different system, known as the theory of the "treasury." It had indeed become obvious as the use of indulgences spread that they could no longer be justified as offering to the sinner nothing more than his choice between several sorts of penance. They were something else. A short prayer, a small gift in money, would exempt devout people from the greatest penalties and from numberless years of a possible purgatory; the one could scarcely be considered as being the equivalent of the other; how was the equilibrium established between the two scales? The answer was that the deficiency was made up by the application to the sinner of merits, not indeed his own, but merits of Christ, the Virgin, and the saints, of which there was an inexhaustible "treasury," the dispensation of which rested with the Pope and the clergy. This theory was acted upon long before it was put forth in express words; it does not appear to have been more than vaguely alluded to before the fourteenth century, when Pope Clement VI., "Doctor Doctorum," gave a perfectly clear definition and exposition of the "treasury" system. In a bull of the year 1350, Clement explains that the merits of Christ are infinite, and the merits of the Virgin and the saints are superabunding. This excess of unemployed merit has been constituted into a treasury, "not one that is deposited in a strong room, or concealed in a field, but which is to be usefully distributed to the faithful, through the blessed Peter, keeper of heaven's gate, and his successors." However largely employed, there ought to be "no fear of an absorption or a diminution of this treasury, first on account of the

infinite merits of Christ, as has been said before, then because the more numerous are the people reclaimed through the use of its contents, the more it is augmented by the addition of their merits." [1] It must be admitted that such being the case no doubt the treasury would never be found empty, since the more was drawn from it, the more it grew. Such is in all its simplicity the theory of the "treasury," which has ever since, and with no change whatever, been acted upon.

Having so much wealth to distribute among the faithful, the Church used to insure its repartition through means of certain people who went about, authorized by official letters, offering to good Christians some particle of the heavenly wealth placed at the disposal of the successors of St. Peter. They expected in return some part of the much more worldly riches their hearers might be possessed of, and which could be applied to more tangible uses than the "treasury." The men entrusted with this mission were called sometimes *quæstors*, on account of what they asked, and sometimes *pardoners*, on account of what they gave.

Does not the name of these strange beings, whose character is peculiar to the Middle Ages much more than that of the friars, or any of those whom we have just studied, recall the sparkling laugh of Chaucer, and bring back his amusing portrait to the memory? His pardoner describes himself:

> "Lordyngs, quod he, in chirches whan I preche,
> I peyne me to have an hauteyn speche,

[1] See Appendix XIII.

And ryng it out, as lowd as doth a belle,
For I can al by rote which that I telle.
My teeme is alway oon, and ever was;
Radix omnium malorum est cupiditas."

In the pulpit he leans to the right, to the left, he gesticulates, he babbles; his arms move as much as his tongue; it is a wonder to see and hear him.

"I stonde lik a clerk in my pulpit,
And whan the lewed people is doun i-set,
I preche so as ye have herd before,
And telle hem an hondred japes more.
Than peyne I me to strecche forth my necke
And est and west upon the poeple I bekke,
As doth a dowfe, syttyng on a berne;
Myn hondes and my tonge goon so yerne,
That it is joye to se my businesse.

* * * * *

I preche no thyng but of coveityse.
Therfor my teem is yit, and ever was,
Radix omnium malorum est cupiditas."

This description seems to-day so extraordinary that it is well worth inquiring whether or not it is consistent with facts, and can be verified from authentic sources. The search for documents on the subject will show once more the marvellous exactness of Chaucer's pictures; however malicious they may be when they concern the pardoner, they do not contain a trait that may not be justified by letters emanating from papal or episcopal chancery.

These *quæstores*, or *quæstiarii* as they were officially called, were, so says Boniface IX., speaking at the very

time that the poet wrote his tales, sometimes secular priests and sometimes friars, but extremely impudent. They dispensed with all ecclesiastic licence, and went from hamlet to hamlet delivering speeches, showing their relics and selling their pardons. It was a lucrative trade, and the competition was great; the success of the authorized pardoners had caused a crowd of interested pardoners to issue from the schools or the priory, or from mere nothingness, greedy, with glittering eyes, as in the "Canterbury Tales": "suche glaryng eyghen hadde he as an hare;" true vagabonds, infesters of the highroads, who having nothing to care for, boldly carried on their impostor's traffic. They imposed it, spoke loud, and without scruple unbound upon earth all that might be bound in heaven. Much profit arose from this; Chaucer's pardoner gained a hundred marks a year, which might easily be, since, having asked no authority from any one he gave no one any accounts, and kept all the gains to himself. In his measured language the Pope tells us as much as the poet, and it seems as though he would recommence, feature for feature, the portrait drawn by the old story-teller. First, says the pontifical letter, these pardoners swear that they were sent by the Court of Rome: "Certain religious, who even belong to different mendicant orders, and some secular clerks, occasionally advanced in the ecclesiastical hierarchy, affirm that they are sent by us or by the legates or the nuncios of the apostolic see, and that they have received the mission to treat of certain affairs, . . . to receive money for us and the Roman Church, and they go about the country under these pretexts." We find in the same manner

that it is Rome whence Chaucer's personage comes, and he is always speaking against avarice :

"a gentil pardoner
* * * * *
That streyt was comen from the court of Rome
* * * * *
His walet lay byforn him in his lappe,
Bret-ful of pardoun come from Rome al hoot."
* * * * *
"What! trowe ye, whiles that I may preche
And wynne gold and silver for I teche,
That I wil lyve in povert wilfully?
* * * * *
For I wol preche and begge in sondry londes,
I wil not do no labour with myn hondes,
* * * * *
I wol noon of thapostles counterfete
I wol have money, wolle, chese, and whete."

"Thus," continues the Pope, "they proclaim to the faithful and simple people the real or pretended authorizations which they have received; and irreverently abusing those which are real, in pursuit of infamous and hateful gain, consummate their impudence by attributing to themselves false and pretended authorizations of this kind."

What says the poet? That the charlatan has always fine things to show, that he knows how to dazzle the simple that he has his bag full of parchments with respect-worthy seals, true or false no doubt; that the people look on and admire, that the curate gets angry but holds his tongue :

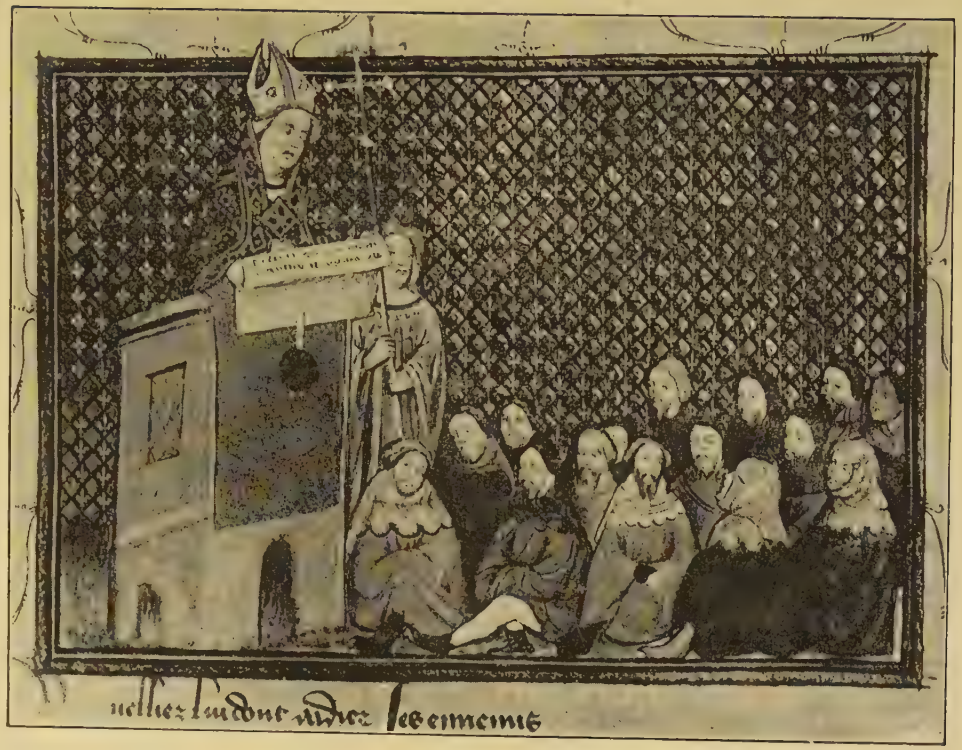
"First I pronounce whennes that I come,
And thanne my bulles schewe I alle and some;

Oure liege lordes seal upon my patent
That schewe I first, my body to warent,
That no man be so hardy, prest ne clerk,
Me to destourbe of Cristes holy werk.
And after that than tel I forth my tales.
Bulles of popes and of cardynales,
Of patriarkes, and of bisshops, I schewe,
And in Latyn speke I wordes fewe
To savore with my predicacioun,
And for to stere men to devocioun."

And that "turpem et infamem quæstum" of which the pontiff makes mention is not forgotten :

"Now good men, God foryeve yow your trespas,
And ware yow fro the synne of avarice.
Myn holy pardoun may you alle warice,
So that ye offren noblis or starlinges,
Or elles silver spones, broches, or rynges.
Bowith your hedes under this holy bulle."

The effect of large parchments and large seals displayed from the pulpit scarcely ever failed upon the simple people assembled, and in many circumstances of more importance than retail selling of the merits of saints in heaven, recourse was had to such performances. Thus when Henry of Lancaster came to turn his cousin Richard II. out of the English throne, the first thing he did, according to Créton, was to have a papal bull carried up the pulpit of Canterbury Cathedral by the Archbishop himself, the text being read and commented upon by the prelate. As Créton was not present when this scene, which he describes only on hearsay, took place, the speech he gives is the more interesting for our purpose, for it may be con-



READING IN CANTERBURY CATHEDRAL OF A FABRICATED PAPAL BULL, A.D. 1399. [*p.* 317.

(*From the MS. Harl.* 1319.)

sidered an average speech, such a one as was usual and likely to have been pronounced on the occasion. It is to the following effect:

"My good people, hearken all of you here: you well know how the king most wrongfully and without reason has banished your lord Henry; I have therefore obtained of the holy father who is our patron, that those who shall forthwith bring aid this day, shall every one of them have remission of all sins whereby from the hour of their baptism they have been defiled. Behold the sealed bull that the Pope of renowned Rome hath sent me, my good friends, in behalf of you all. Agree then to help him to subdue his enemies, and you shall for this be placed after death with those who are in Paradise."

"Then," continues the narrator, describing the effect of the speech, "might you have beheld young and old, the feeble and the strong, make a clamour, and regarding neither right or wrong, stir themselves up with one accord; thinking that what was told them was true, for such as they have little sense or knowledge. The archbishop invented this device . . ." [1]

Supposed or real, this speech is given by Créton as having been delivered in good earnest, and is fit to be compared to the pardoner's in Chaucer's tale. The Canterbury pilgrim's burst of eloquence may be taken as a caricature, but not an unrecognizable one of the grave discourses such as the one we have just heard.

The parallel may be continued farther. The apostolic letter before alluded to goes on: "For some

[1] "Archæologia," vol. xx. p. 53, John Webb's translation. See Appendix XIV.

insignificant sum of money, they extend the veil of a lying absolution not over penitents, but over men of a hardened conscience who persist in their iniquity, remitting, to use their own words, horrible crimes without there having been any contrition nor fulfilment of any of the prescribed forms." Chaucer's pardoner acts in the very same manner, and says :

> "I yow assoile by myn heyh power,
> If ye woln offre, as clene and eek as cler
> As ye were born.
> * * * * *
> I rede that oure hoste schal bygynne,
> For he is most envoliped in synne.
> Come forth, sire ost, and offer first anoon,
> And thou schalt kisse the reliquis everichoon,
> Ye for a grote ; unbocle anone thi purse."[1]

Boccaccio in one of the novels which he is supposed to tell himself, under the name of Dioneo, produces an ecclesiastic who has the greatest resemblance, moral and physical, to Chaucer's man. He is called Frà Cipolla, and was accustomed to visit Certaldo, Boccaccio's village. "This Frà Cipolla was little of person, red-haired and merry of countenance, the jolliest rascal in the world, and to boot, for all he was no scholar, he was so fine a talker and so ready of wit that those who knew him not would not only have esteemed him a great rhetorician, but had avouched him to be Tully himself, or maybe, Quintilian ; and he was gossip, or friend, or well-wisher, to well-nigh every one in the country." If

[1] "The Poetical Works of Chaucer," ed. Richard Morris, Prologue to "Canterbury Tales," vol. ii. p. 21, and Prologue to "Pardoner's Tale," vol. iii. pp. 86–90.

his hearers give him a little money or corn or anything, he will show them the most wonderful relics; and besides they will enjoy the special protection of the patron saint of his order, St. Anthony: "Gentlemen and ladies, it is, as you know, your usance to send every year to the poor of our lord Baron St. Anthony of your corn and of your oats, this little and that much, according to his means and his devoutness, to the intent that the blessed St. Anthony may keep watch over your beeves and asses and swine and sheep; and, beside this, you use to pay, especially such of you as are inscribed into our company, that small due which is payable once a year." [1]

One may conceive that such people had few scruples and knew how to profit by those of others. They released their clients from all possible vows, remitted all penances, for money. The more prohibitions, obstacles, or penances were imposed, the more their affairs prospered; they passed their lives in undoing what the real clergy did, and that without profit to any one but themselves. The Pope again tells us: "For a small compensation they release you from vows of chastity, of abstinence, of pilgrimage beyond the sea to Sts. Peter and Paul of Rome, or to St. James of Compostella, and any other vows." They allow heretics to re-enter the bosom of the Church, illegitimate children to receive sacred orders, they take off excommunications, interdicts; in short, as their power comes from themselves alone, nothing forces them to restrain it and they take it fully and without stint;

[1] "The Decameron of Giovanni Boccaccio" . . . done into English . . . by John Payne, London, 1886, vol. ii. p. 278, tenth Tale, sixth Day.

they recognize no superiors and thus remit little and great penances. Lastly, they affirm that "it is in the name of the apostolic chamber that they take all this money, and yet they are never seen to give an account of it to any one: 'Horret et merito indignatur animus talia reminisci.'"[1]

They went yet further, they had formed regular associations for systematically speculating in the public confidence; thus Boniface IX. orders in the year 1390, that the Bishops should make an inquiry into everything that concerns these "religious or secular priests, their people, their accomplices, and their associations"; that they should imprison them "without other form of law; de plano ac sine strepitu et figura judicii;" should make them render accounts, confiscate their receipts, and if their papers be not in order hold them under good keeping, and refer the matter to the sovereign pontiff.

There were indeed authorized pardoners who paid the produce of their receipts into the treasury of the Roman Court. The learned Richard d'Angerville (or de Bury), Bishop of Durham, in a circular of December 8, 1340, speaks of apostolic or diocesan letters subject to a rigorous visa, with which the regular pardoners were furnished.[2] But many did without them, and the Bishop notices one by one the same abuses as the Pope and as Chaucer. "Strong complaints have come to our ears that the questors of this kind, not without great and rash boldness, of their own authority, and to the great danger of the souls who are confided to us, openly making game of our power, distribute indul-

[1] See Appendix XV. [2] See same Appendix.

gences to the people, dispense with the execution of vows, absolve the perjured, homicides, usurers, and other sinners who confess to them; and, for a little money paid, grant remission for crimes ill-atoned for, and are given to a multitude of other abuses." Henceforward all curates and vicars must refuse to admit these pardoners to preach or to give indulgences, whether in the Churches or anywhere else, if they be not provided with letters or a special licence from the Bishop himself. And this was a most proper injunction, for with these bulls brought from far-off lands, furnished with unknown seals "of popes and of cardynales, of patriarkes and of bisshops,"[1] it was too easy to make people believe that all was in order. Meanwhile let all those who are now wandering round the country be stripped of what they have taken, and let "the money and *any other articles* collected by them or on their behalf" be seized. The common people not always having pieces of money, Chaucer's pardoner contented himself with "silver spones, broches, or rynges;" besides, we find here a new allusion to those associations of pardoners which must have been so harmful. They employed inferior agents; the general credulity and the widespread wish to get rid of religious trammels which men had imposed on themselves, or which had been imposed on them on account of their sins, were a mine for the perverse band, the veins of which they carefully worked. By means of these subordinate representatives of their imaginary power, they easily extended the field of their operations; and the complicated threads of their webs traversed the whole

[1] Pardoner's Prologue.

kingdom, sometimes too strong to be broken, sometimes too subtle to be perceived.

Occasionally, too, the bad example came from very high quarters; all had not the Bishop of Durham's virtue. Walsingham relates with indignation the conduct of a cardinal who made a stay in England in order to negociate a marriage between Richard II. and the emperor's sister. For money this prelate, like the pardoners, took off excommunications, dispensed with pilgrimages to St. Peter, St. James, or Jerusalem, and had the sum that would have been spent on the journey given to him, according to an estimate;[1] and it is much to be regretted from every point of view that the curious tariff of the expenses of a journey thus estimated has not come down to us.

The list of the misdeeds of pardoners was in truth enormous, and it is found even larger on exploring the authentic ecclesiastical documents than in the poems of Chaucer himself. Thus in a bull of Pope Urban V., dated 1369, we find the description of practices which seem to have been unknown to the otherwise experienced "gentil pardoner of Rouncival." These doings were familiar to the pardoners employed by the hospital of St. John of Jerusalem in England. They pretended to have received certain immunities by which they could dispense with apostolic letters, and were not bound to

[1] "Excommunicatis gratiam absolutionis impendit. Vota peregrinationis ad apostolorum limina, ad Terram Sanctam, ad Sanctum Jacobum non prius remisit quam tantam pecuniam recepisset, quantam, juxta veram æstimationem, in eisdem peregrinationibus expendere debuissent, et ut cuncta concludam brevibus, nihil omnino petendum erat, quod non censuit, intercedente pecunia, concedendum" ("Historia Anglicana"; Rolls Series, vol. i. p. 452).

show any in order to be allowed to make their preachings and to offer to the people their "negotia quæstuaria." The parish rectors and curates naturally objected to such pretensions, but their complaints were badly received, and to get rid of such tenacious adversaries, the pardoners sued them before some distant judge for contempt of their cloth and privileges. While the suit was being determined they remained free to act pretty much as they liked. Sometimes they were so happy as to obtain a condemnation against the priest who had tried to do his duty by them, and even succeeded in having him excommunicated: which could of course but be a cause of great merriment among the unholy tribe. "Very often, also," adds Pope Urban, "when they mean to hurt a rector or his curate, they go to his church on some feast-day, especially at such time as the people are accustomed to come and make their offerings. They begin then to make their collections or to read the name of their brotherhood or fraternity, and continue until such an hour as it is not possible to celebrate mass conveniently that day. Thus they manage perversely to deprive these rectors and vicars of the offerings which accrue to them at such masses." They have, on the other hand, Divine service performed "in polluted or interdicted places, and there also bury the dead; they use, as helps to their trade, almost illiterate subordinates, who spread errors and fables among the people." [1]

Such abuses and many others, constantly pointed out by councils, popes, and bishops, moved the University of Oxford to recommend, in the year 1414, the entire

[1] See Appendix XV.

suppression of pardoners, as being men of loose life and lying speeches, spending their profits "with the prodigal son," remitting to sinners their sins as well as their penances, encouraging sin by the ease of their absolutions, and drawing the souls of simple people "to Tartarus." But this request was not listened to, and pardoners continued to prosper for the moment.[1]

At the same time that they sold indulgences, the pardoners showed relics. They had been on pilgrimage and had brought back little bones and fragments of all kinds, of holy origin, they said. But although there were credulous persons among the multitude, among the educated class the disabused were not wanting who scoffed at the impertinence of the impostors without mercy. The pardoners of Chaucer and Boccaccio, and in the sixteenth century of Heywood and Lyndsay,[2] had the pleasantest relics. The Chaucerian who possessed a piece of the sail of St. Peter's boat, is beaten by Frate Cipolla, who had received extraordinary relics at Jerusalem. "I will, as an especial favour, show you," said he, "a very holy and goodly relic, which I myself brought aforetime from the Holy Lands beyond seas, and that is one of the Angel Gabriel's feathers, which remained in the Virgin Mary's chamber, whenas he came to announce to her in Nazareth!"[3] The feather, which was a feather from the tail of a parrot, through some joke played upon him was

[1] See Appendix XV.

[2] Lyndsay, "A Satire of the Thrie Estates" (performed 1535). Early English Text Society; John Heywood, "The Pardoner and the Frere, the Curate and Neybour Pratte," 1533; "The foure Ps," 1545.

[3] Payne's "Boccaccio," vol ii. pp, 280, 287.

replaced in the casket of the holy man by a few coals; when he perceived the metamorphosis he did not show any surprise, but began the narrative of his long voyages, and explained how, instead of the feather, the coals on which St. Lawrence was grilled would be seen in his coffer. He received them from "My lord Blamemenot Anitpleaseyou," the worthy patriarch of Jerusalem, who also showed him "a finger of the Holy Ghost as whole and sound as ever it was, . . . and one of the nails of the cherubim, . . . divers rays of the star that appeared to the three Wise Men in the East, and a vial of the sweat of St. Michael when as he fought with the devil;" he possessed also "somewhat of the sound of the bells of Solomon's Temple in a vial."

These are poets' jests, but they are less exaggerated than might be thought. Was there not shown to the pilgrims at Exeter a bit "of the candle which the angel of the Lord lit in Christ's tomb"? This was one of the relics brought together in the venerable cathedral by Athelstan, "the most glorious and victorious king," who had sent emissaries at great expense on to the Continent to gather these precious spoils. The list of their discoveries, which has been preserved in a missal of the eleventh century, comprises also a little of "the bush in which the Lord spoke to Moses," and a lot of other curiosities.[1]

Matthew Paris relates that in his time the friar preachers gave to Henry III. a piece of white marble on which there was the trace of a human foot. According to the testimony of the inhabitants of the Holy

[1] "The Leofric Missal" (1050–1072) edited by F. E. Warren, 1883 (Clarendon Press), pp. lxi, 3, 4.

Land this was nothing less than the mark of one of the Saviour's feet, a mark which He left as a souvenir to His apostles after His Ascension. "Our lord the king had this marble placed in the church of Westminster, to which he had already lately offered some of the blood of Christ."[1]

In the fourteenth century kings continued to give example to the common people, and to collect relics of doubtful authenticity. In the accounts of the expenses of Edward III., in the thirty-sixth year of his reign, we find that he paid a messenger a hundred shillings for bringing a gift of a vest which had belonged to St. Peter.[2] In France, at the same period, the wise King Charles V. had one day the curiosity to visit the cupboard of the Sainte Chapelle, where the relics of the passion were kept. He found there a phial with a Latin and Greek inscription indicating that it contained a portion of the blood of Jesus Christ. "Then," relates Christine de Pisan, "that wise king, because some doctors have said that, on the day that our Lord rose, nothing was left on earth of His worthy body that was not all returned into Him, would hereupon know and inquire by learned men, natural philosophers, and theologians, whether it could be true that upon earth there were some of the real pure blood of Jesus Christ. Examination was made by the said learned men assembled about this matter; the said phial was seen and visited with great reverence and solemnity of lights, in which when it was hung or lowered could be

[1] "Historia Anglorum" (Historia minor), ed., Sir F. Madden, London, 1866; vol. iii. p. 60 (Rolls Series).

[2] Devon's "Issues of the Exchequer," 1837, p. 176.

clearly seen the fluid of the red blood flow as freshly as though it had been shed but three or four days since: which thing is not small marvel, considering the passion was so long ago. And these things I know for certain by the relation of my father who was present at that examination, as philosophic officer and counsellor of the said prince."

After this examination made by great "solemnity of lights," the doctors declared themselves for the authenticity of the miracle;[1] which was not in reality more surprising than that at Naples Cathedral, where even now, the blood of the patron saint of the town may be seen to liquify several times a year, and for several days each time.

In every country of Europe the pardoners enjoyed exactly the same reputation and acted in the same manner. We may turn to France, to Germany, to Italy, to Spain, and we find them living, so long as there remained any, as Chaucer's pardoner did. In France we see them treated with little ceremony by Rabelais, who has them cheated by his favourite Panurge. The clever *vaurien* used to place his penny in their basin so skilfully that it seemed to be a silver piece: for which he made bold to take change up to the last farthing. "'And I did the same,' said he, 'in all the churches where we have been.'—'Yea, but,' said I, 'you . . . are a thief, and commit sacrilege.'—'True,' said he, 'as it seems to you; but it does not seem so to me. For the pardoners give it me as a gift when they say, in offering

[1] "Le livre des fais et bonnes mœurs du sage roy Charles," by Christine de Pisan, chap. xxxiii. vol. i. p. 633; "Nouvelle Collection de Mémoires," ed. Michaud et Poujoulat, Paris, 1836.

me the relics to kiss: *Centuplum accipies*—that is, that for one penny I take a hundred; for *accipies* is spoken by them according to the manner of the Hebrews, who use the future tense instead of the imperative, as you have in the book, 'Diliges Dominum, id est, dilige.'" [1]

Ridiculous parts are in the same way allotted to pardoners in the farces of the old French theatre; here is an example:

"*Pardoner:* I mean to show you the comb of the cock that sung at Pilate's, and half a plank of Noah's great ark. . . . Look, gentlemen, here is a feather of one of the seraphs near God. Don't think it is a joke; here it is for you to see.

"*Triacleur:* Gogsblood! 'tis the quill from a goose he has eaten at his dinner!" [2] and so on.

The same in Spain. Lazarillo de Tormes, the page of many masters, happens, at one time, to be in the service of a pardoner. This is the same individual as Chaucer had described two hundred years before; he, too, knows how to use Latin when he finds an opportunity: "Hee woulde alwayes bee informed before he came, which were learned and which not. When he came to those which he understood were learned, he woulde be sure never to speake worde of Latin, for feare of stumbling: but used in suche places a gentle kinde of Castilian Spanish, his tong alwayes at libertie. And contrariwise whensoever hee was informed of the reverend *Domines* (I meane such as are made priestes more for money than for

[1] "Pantagruel," book ii. chap. xvii., "Comment Panurge gagnoit les pardons."

[2] "Farce d'un pardonneur, d'un triacleur et d'une tavernière" (Viollet le Duc, "Ancien théâtre français," Paris, 1854–57, vol. ii. p. 50).

learning and good behaviour) to hear him speake amongs suche men you would saye it were St. Thomas : for hee woulde then two houres together talke Latin, at lest which seemed to bee, though it was not."[1] A trick which, as is well known, Sganarelle, many years after, did not disdain to use when put upon his last shifts as "Médecin malgré lui."

The pardoners lived merrily; certainly after a well occupied day they must have been cheerful companions at the inn. The thought of the multitude of sins which they had remitted, of excommunications which they had taken off, of penalties which they had commuted—themselves simple vagabonds menaced with the gallows—the knowledge of their impunity, the singularity of their existence, the triumphant success of those mad harangues which gave them the keys of heaven, must have made their hearts swell inconceivably with coarse brutal merriment. Their heads were filled with anecdotes which furnished them with matter for interminable babble, either sacred or profane; native coarseness and borrowed devotion, the real and the artificial man, met together roughly to the sound of jugs and basins which clattered on the table. Look in the margin of an old psalter at the spare figure of Master Reynard[2]; a cross between his paws, a mitre on his head, he is preaching a sermon to the amazed crowd

[1] "The Pleasaunt Historie of Lazarillo de Tormes, . . . drawen out of Spanish by David Rouland, of Anglesey." London, 1586, Sig. G. iii.

[2] This allegory was a favourite subject among the miniaturists, and it is found in several manuscripts (2 B. vii.; 10 E. IV.), in the British Museum. See the head-piece of the present chapter.

of ducks and geese of the poultry yard. The gesture is full of unction, but the eye shaded by the tawny hair has a cruel glitter, which ought to give warning of the peroration. But no, the poultry-yard clucks devoutly and fears nothing; woe to the ducks when the mitre has fallen: "and Thou, Lord, shalt laugh at them," says the psalmist, exactly at this place.

What a singular knowledge of the human heart must such individuals have had, and what curious experiences they must have gone through each day! Never were more unworthy beings clothed with greater supernatural powers. The deformed monster squat on the apse of the cathedral, laughs and grimaces hideously on his airy pedestal. And into space, up into the clouds rise the fretted spires; the chiselled needles detach themselves like lace upon the sky; the saints make their eternal prayers under the porch, the bells send forth their peals into the air, and souls are seized as with a shiver, with that mysterious trembling which the sublime causes men to experience. He laughs; hearts believe themselves to be purified, but he has seen their hideous sores, a powerful hand—the Tempter's hand—will touch them and prevent their cure; the edge of the roof reaches the clouds; but *his* look goes through the garret window, he sees a beam which gives way; the worm-eaten planks which are cracking, and a whole people of obscure creatures which are slowly pursuing under the wooden shafts their secular labour of demolition: he laughs and grimaces hideously.

On the further bench of the tavern the pardoner remains still seated. There enter Chaucer, the knight, the squire, the friar, the host—old acquaintances. We

are by ourselves, no one need be afraid of speaking, the foaming ale renders hearts expansive ; here the secret coils of that tortuous soul unfold to view ; he gives us the summary of a whole life, the theory of his existence, the key to all his secrets. What matters his frankness? he knows that it cannot hurt him ; the bishop has twenty times brought his practices to light, but the crowd always troops round him. And who knows if his companions—who knows if his more enlightened companions, to whom he shows the concealed springs of the automaton—will, to-morrow, believe it lifeless? their memory, their reason will tell them so, yet still their heart will doubt. If custom is the half of belief, theirs is well-rooted ; how much more is that of the multitude. And the pardoner also, do you suppose that he always sees clearly what he is, do you think that his scepticism is absolute? he for whom nothing is holy, whose very existence is a perpetual mockery of sacred things, he also has his hours of fear and terror, he trembles before that formidable power which he said he held in his hands, and of which he has made a toy ; he does not possess it, but he thinks that others do ; and he hesitates ; the monster looks upon himself and is afraid.

Very easy it was to lead the popular belief into the channel of the marvellous. There are decrees that forbid the making spectres or ghosts appear in those long watches which were passed around corpses ; disobedience was attempted, people believed they succeeded in raising them. In presence of the horrible a strange reaction in the heart took place, there was felt as it were a wind of madness pass which predisposed men to see

and to believe anything, a nervous and demoniacal merriment seized upon all, and dances and lascivious games were organized. Dancing was practised in the cemeteries during the nights of mourning which preceded the feasts, there was dancing also during the watch for the dead. The Council of London, in 1342, prohibited "the superstitious customs which cause prayer to be neglected, and unlawful and indecent meetings" which were held in similar places.[1] The Council of York, in 1367, also forbid "those guilty games and follies, and all those perverse customs . . . which transform a house of tears and prayers, into a house of laughing and of excess." The Gild of palmers, of Ludlow, allowed its members to go to night-watches of the dead, provided that they abstained from raising apparitions and from indecent games.[2] As to professional sorcerers, they went to the stake at this period, as happened to Petronilla of Meath, who was convicted of having manufactured powders with "spiders and black worms like scorpions, mingling with them a certain herb called milfoil, and other detestable herbs and worms."[3] She had also made such incantations that

[1] Labbe, "Sacrosancta concilia," Florence edition, vol. xxv. col. 1177, and vol. xxvi. col. 462. In 1419, Henry Chicheley, Archbishop of Canterbury, ordered public prayers, litanies, and processions, to protect the King of England and his army against the wicked operations of magicians. (Wilkins' "Concilia Magnæ Britanniæ," vol. iii. p. 392.)

[2] "Si vero masculus quisquam voluerit, ut est moris, ejusdem defuncti vel defuncte nocturnis vigiliis interesse, hoc fieri permittatur, dumtamen nec monstra larvarum inducere, nec corporis vel fame sue ludibria, nec ludos alios inhonestos, presumat aliqualiter attemptare" (Toulmin Smith, "English Gilds," p. 194).

[3] "Aranеis et aliis vermibus nigris ad modum scorpionum, cum

"the faces of certain women seemed horned like the heads of goats;" therefore she had her just punishment, "she was burnt before an immense multitude of people with all the accustomed ceremonial." Such facts as these alone can explain the existence of the pardoner.

Let us add that the search for the philosopher's stone was the constant occupation of many redoubted doctors; every one had not that clear good sense, that easy fancy, that sovereign good humour and that penetrating spirit which permitted Chaucer to unveil before us smilingly the mysteries of the alchemist. He shakes all the alembics and all the retorts, and in the odd shapes of the apparatus which frighten the imagination he lets us see, not the newly created ingot of pure metal, but the mixture prepared beforehand by the impostor.[1] Supernatural virtues were attributed to plants and stones; contemporaries in reviving them went beyond ancient inventions. Gower thinks he does well by inserting in a love poem all that he knows on the constitution of the world and the virtues of things;[2] even with really learned men a mass of fabulous indications fills volumes. Bartholomew the Englishman, whose work is an encyclopædia of scientific knowledge in the thirteenth century, says that the diamond destroys the

quadam herba quæ dicitur millefolium et aliis herbis et vermibus detestabilibus" ("Proceedings against Dame Alice Kyteler, 1324," edited by Thos. Wright, 1843, Camden Society, p. 32).

[1] "The Canons Yeomans Tale."

[2] The whole of book vii. of his "Confessio Amantis" is consecrated to the exposition of a system of the world and to the description of the inner nature of beings and substances. The "Roman de la Rose" is not less explicit on these matters (confession of Nature to Genius).

effect of venom and of magic incantations, showing openly fear in whoever wears it; that the topaz hinders sudden death, &c.[1]

When one thinks on the number of vain beliefs which troubled the brains of those days, it is difficult not to remember, with a feeling of pleasure, that in an age which was no way exempt from these weaknesses no one condemned them with more eloquence than Molière: "Without speaking of other things," says he, "I have never been able to conceive how even the smallest peculiarities of the fortune of the least man could be found written in the skies. What relation, what intercourse, what correspondence can there be between us and worlds separated from our earth by so frightful a distance? and whence can this fine science have come to men? What God has revealed it? or what experience can have shaped it from the observation of that great number of stars which have not been seen twice in the same arrangement?"

Trouble and eloquence lost; there will always be a Timocles to observe with a wise air: "I am incredulous enough as to a great many things, but for astrology, there is nothing more certain and more constant than the success of the horoscopes which it draws."[2]

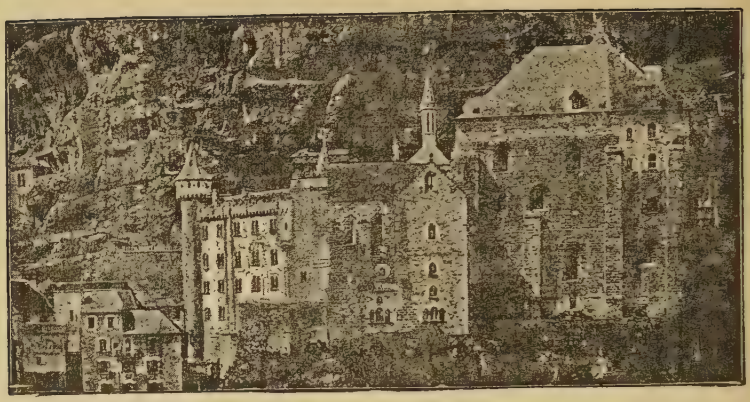
So vanished into smoke the tempests which Chaucer, Langland, and Wyclif raised against the hypocritical pardoners of their day. They lingered on till the sixteenth century, and then were entirely suppressed in the twenty-first session of the œcumenical council of Trent, July 16, 1562, Pius IV. being Pope. It is stated in the ninth

[1] "De proprietatibus rerum," lib. xvi.
[2] "Les amants magnifiques."

chapter of the "Decree of Reform," published in that session, that "no further hope can be entertained of amending" such pardoners (*eleemosynarum quæstores*), therefore "the use of them and their name are entirely abolished henceforth in all Christendom." [1]

[1] "Conciliorum generalium ecclesiæ catholicæ," tomus iv. p. 261, Pauli V. Pont. max. auctoritate editus, Rome, 1623. See Appendix XV.

A PARDONER (CHAUCER'S PARDONER).
(*From the Ellesmere MS.*)



A PILGRIMAGE TOWN, ROCAMADOUR, IN GUYENNE.
(*Present state.*)

CHAPTER III.

PILGRIMS AND PILGRIMAGES.

IN spite of the talent of the physicians, soothsayers, and sorcerers, there were maladies which resisted the best remedies, and in this case a man promised to go on pilgrimage, or to have himself carried there, to beg for his cure. He went to our Lady of Walsingham or to St. Thomas of Canterbury, whose medical powers were considered, beyond comparison, the best of all: "Optimus egrorum medicus fit Thomas bonorum," was the motto stamped on the pewter ampullæ, or little flasks which pilgrims brought back as a souvenir from Canterbury; "for good people that are sick, Thomas is the best of physicians." And surely praying at his

shrine or sending gifts there was a better way of preserving one's health than swallowing the black beetles and fat bats of John of Gaddesden, Court physician.

Pilgrimages were incessant; they were made to satisfy a vow as in case of illness, or in expiation of sins. Confessors frequently gave the making of a pilgrimage as penance, and sometimes ordered that the traveller should go barefoot or in his shirt. "Commune penaunce," says Chaucer's parson in his great sermon, "is that prestes enjoynen men comunly in certeyn caas, as for to goon, peradventure, naked in pilgrimage or barfot."[1]

Another motive for pilgrimages, and, more than any other, a characteristic one of the times, was to annoy the king. Thus in the fourteenth century English people flocked to the tomb of the selfish Earl of Lancaster,[2] whom popular prejudice had made a saint. The crowd hastened through a spirit of contradiction to Pontefract, where the rebel had been decapitated, and the pilgrims became every year more numerous, to the great scandal of the sovereign and of the Archbishop of York. A letter of this prelate shows the

[1] "Works," ed. R. Morris, vol. iii. p. 266.

[2] Cousin of Edward II., executed in 1322. Froissart has no doubt as to the authenticity of these miracles. "Thomas erle of Lancastre, who was a noble and a wyse holy knyght, and hath done syth many fayre myracles in Pomfret, where he was beheeded" (vol. i. chap. vi. in Lord Berners' translation). The body of Charles de Blois also worked miracles, and Froissart imagined that Urban V. canonized him; "his body [was] after sanctifyed by the grace of God and called Saynt Charles, and canonised by Pope Urban the V.; for he dyde, and yet dothe many fayre miracles dayly" (vol. i. cap. 226 of Lord Berners' translation).

uselessness of prohibitions ; the idea of the semblance of a persecution of believers organized by an archbishop only excited zeal and devotion ; men fancied the martyr would be pleased by allowing themselves to be a little martyred. Thus while awaiting the canonization, assemblies collect near the tomb so numerous and tumultuous that there happen "homicides and mortal wounds, . . . and that greater dangers yet and doubtless most imminent are to be feared." [1]

This took place the very year after the execution of the saint. The official was enjoined to hinder these meetings any how, and to disperse them until the Pope should pronounce. Nevertheless the assemblies continued, and Henry of Lancaster wrote in 1327 to the Archbishop of York to beg him to refer to the Sovereign Pontiff about it, and "to bear witness to the fame of the miracles which God works by our very dear lord and brother." [2] The same year the Commons demanded the canonization of this same Thomas, which was scarcely parliamentary business.[3] In 1338, a grocer of London sold a wooden tankard (a mazer) ornamented with an "image of St. Thomas of Lancaster." [4]

[1] "Non absque homicidiis et aliisque lætalibus verberibus . . . et de majoribus periculis verisimiliter imminentibus multipliciter formidatur . . ." (A.D. 1323, "Historical Papers from the Northern Registers," edited by Canon Raine, 1873, p. 324, Rolls Series).

[2] The archbishop did write to this effect to the Pope (John XXII.) on February 24, 1327, asking him to make inquiry with a view to canonization. ("Historical Papers from the Northern Registers," p. 340.)

[3] Petition to Parliament, 1 E. III. 1326–7. ("Rolls of Parliament," vol. ii. p. 7.)

[4] "Memorials of London," Riley, 1868, p. 203. The miracu-

Humphry de Bohun, Earl of Hereford and Essex, who died in 1361, bequeathed money to some pious persons who should make several pilgrimages on his account, and he specially recommended that "a good man and true" should be hired and charged to go to "Pountfreyt and to offer there at the tomb of Thomas, late earl of Lancaster, 40s."[1] To make a saint of a rebel was the most energetic means of protesting against the king, and the people were not lacking this opportunity under certain of their sovereigns. Henry III. in 1266 was obliged to forbid Simon de Montfort being considered as a saint. Now Simon had died under excommunication, as was represented to the king by the bishops and barons, authors of the petitions comprised in the "Dictum de Kenilworth";[2] he therefore had little chance of being canonized. But still that

lous influence of the same Thomas of Lancaster is also declared by the contemporary author of the "Croniques de London" (Camden Society, ed. G. J. Aungier), p. 46, and many others.

[1] J. Nichol's "Wills of the Kings and Queens of England," &c., 1780, p. 54. A chapel had been built on the "mountain" where the earl had been beheaded. The offerings which the pilgrims brought there were, in 1334, the subject of a curious strife between the prior and the convent of Pontefract on one hand, and the Lord of Wake on the other hand; this lord had "taken possession of the said chapel and the offerings coming there, and had taken the keys with him." The prior and the convent in a petition to Parliament requested to have the "administration of these offerings" as "spiritual things within their parish and belonging to their church" ("Rolls of Parliament," vol. ii. p. 84).

[2] "Ne . . . pro sancto vel justo reputetur, cum in excommunicatione sit defunctus, sicut sancta tenet ecclesia" ("Dictum de Kenilworth," § viii., in "Select Charters," edited by Stubbs, 1870, p. 410.)

did not prevent Latin hymns being composed in his honour, as for a saint.[1]

The rebel was hardly dead when the popular feeling, often unfavourable to him during his life, forthwith recognized in him only a hero who had fought against the common enemy, and through sympathy assigned to him a place in heaven. The active revolt, rudely interrupted by punishment, continued thus in the latent state, and every one came to see God Himself take the part of the oppressed, and proclaim the injustice of the king by working miracles at the tomb of the condemned. The sovereign defended himself as he could; he dispersed the rabble and prohibited the miracles. Thus Edward II., on October 2, 1323, wrote "to his faithful John of Stonore and John of Bousser," ordering an inquiry which would be followed by graver measures. He recalled to them that "a little time ago Henry of Montfort and Henry of Wylynton, enemies of the king and rebels, on the advice of the royal Court, were drawn and hanged at Bristol, and it had been decided that their bodies should remain attached to the gibbet, so that others might abstain from similar crimes and misdeeds against the king." The people made relics of these bloody and mutilated remains,

[1] "Salve Symon Montis Fortis
tocius flos militie,
Duras penas passus mortis,
protector gentis Angliæ.

* * * *

"Ora pro nobis, beate Symon, ut digni efficiamur promissionibus Christi" (Hymn composed a little after the death of Simon, cited in Warton's "History of English Poetry," edited by Hazlitt, 1871, vol. ii. p. 48).

and surrounded them with respect, in violent protest. Reginald of Montfort, William of Clyf, William Courtois, and John his brother, and some others, in order to render the king odious to the people, had organized false miracles on the spot where the bodies of these enemies and rebels were still hanging.[1]

Severe measures were needed in several places at the same time; while the corpses of these condemned were being venerated at Bristol, the mere image of Thomas of Lancaster, in the Cathedral of London, was attracting a crowd of pilgrims and working miracles. In this same year, 1323, on June 28th, Edward II. is found writing with great irritation to the Bishop of London:

"It has come to our ears—and it is very displeasing to us—that many persons belonging to the people of God, confided to your charge, victims of an infernal trickery, crowd round a pannel placed in your church of St. Paul's, where are to be seen some statues or painted images, especially that of Thomas, late Earl of Lancaster, a rebel, our enemy. Without any authorization from the Roman Church, these people venerate and worship this image, and affirm that it there works miracles: this is an opprobrium for the whole church, a shame for us and for you, a manifest danger for the souls of the aforesaid people, and a dangerous example."

The bishop knows it, continues the king, and secretly encourages these practices without any other motive than that of profiting by the offerings. "By which," adds Edward II., "we are deeply afflicted." The usual prohibitions follow.[2]

[1] Rymer's "Fœdera," edit. 1704, &c., vol. iv. p. 20.

[2] Ibid, vol. iii. p. 1033.

These were pilgrimages for the occasion. Others were in favour for a much longer time owing to the reputation of the departed for sanctity, not for his former political influence. For many years, not waiting for the solitary to be canonized, which never happened, men came in crowds, as we have seen, to visit the tomb of Richard Rolle, the hermit of Hampole. Even in this, fashion ruled as mistress; some relics or tombs of hermits or of saints enjoyed for a period universal favour; then all of a sudden, through some great miracle, another saint rose to pre-eminence, and his rivals, by degrees, dwindled into obscurity.

Sometimes the convents, which had neither relics nor bodies of illustrious saints to attract pilgrims, nor a marvellous thorn-tree like that of Glastonbury, would have a pious artist to fabricate an image worthy of attention; it would be inaugurated with solemnity, and afterwards its fame would be sounded by all permissible means. Thomas of Burton, Abbot of Meaux, near Beverley, relates in the chronicle of the events concerning his rich monastery, which he himself wrote at the end of the fourteenth century, one of the most remarkable facts of this kind. Abbot Hugh of Leven, one of his predecessors, had in the first half of the century ordered a new crucifix for the choir of the chapel: "And the artist never worked at any fine and important part of his work, except on Fridays, fasting on bread and water. And he had all the time a naked man under his eyes, and he laboured to give to his crucifix the beauty of the model. By the means of this crucifix, the Almighty worked open miracles continually. It was then thought that if

access to this crucifix were allowed to women, the common devotion would be increased and great advantages would result from it for our monastery. Upon which the Abbot of Citeaux, by our request, granted us leave to let honest men and women approach the said crucifix ; provided, however, that the women did not enter the cloister, the dormitory, and other parts of the monastery. . . . But profiting by this license, to our misfortune, women began to come in numbers to the crucifix, although in them devotion was cool, and they presented themselves only to look at the church. They only serve to increase our expenses by the obligation we are under to receive them." [1]

This naïve complaint is interesting from many points of view ; it shows without concealment what was done to bring such or such a sanctuary into favour with the pilgrims ; in the present case the effort made did not succeed, the prodigies do not seem to have responded to the expectation, and people came only from curiosity to visit the church and the fine crucifix of the monastery. From the artistic point of view the fact is still more important, for this is the most ancient example of sculpture from the nude living model to be found in mediæval England ; and this anonymous sculptor ought to be remembered, which he is not, as one of the precursors of the Renaissance in this country.

Another attempt of the same kind to make a chapel popular had been tried in the parochial church of Foston (1313); but the Archbishop of York, William Grenefeld, was scandalized by such an abuse, and by a letter full of good sense he put an end to the "great

[1] See Appendix XVI.

concourse of simple people who came to visit a certain image of the Holy Virgin recently placed in the church, as if this image had something more divine than any other images of the sort." [1]

The fact was, as may be noticed even in our days, that, with or without the co-operation of the clergy, some statues had a far better reputation than others; wonders were expected of them, and they were worshipped accordingly; the same vicissitudes were observable for images as for relics and tombs of saints. This statue had healed sick people without number, and that one was known to have moved, to have made a sign, to have spoken a word. Representations of miracles worked by statues constantly recur in manuscripts; one, for instance, is to be found in several English manuscripts of the fourteenth century.[2] It shows how a poor painter, being busy with colouring and gilding a statue of the Virgin, with a most ugly devil under her feet, the Evil One, angry at such an unpleasant likeness, came and broke the ladder on which the artist was standing; but as he was falling and about to be killed, the stone Virgin bent towards him, and

[1] "Sane nuper ad aures nostras pervenit quod ad quandam imaginem beatæ Virginis in ecclesia parochiali de Foston noviter collocatam magnus simplicium est concursus, acsi in eadem plus quam in aliis similibus imaginibus aliquid, numinis appareret" (A.D. 1313, Wilkins' "Concilia," vol. ii. p. 423).

[2] For example in the MS., 2 B. vii. in the British Museum, fol. 211, and in 10 E. IV., fol. 209. The story of this miracle has been told by numberless authors in the Middle Ages; the text of one version of the tale, with references to the others, will be found in G. F. Warner, "Miracles de Nostre Dame," Roxburghe Club, 1885, pp. xxxiv and 63.

extending her arm held him safe until help came. Other deeds of statues were of a less graceful turn; one was performed in the church of St. Paul-extra-muros in Rome, as the Englishman Thomas Gascoigne testifies. Some one had insulted the image of the saint, saying: "'Why hast thou got a sword, I mean to have thy sword,' and he was trying to take it out of the hands of the statue. But through God's doing, the statue raised its sword on the impious man, and clove his head to the chin; and then death followed. This happened at the time when Eugene IV. was Pope of Rome, and a witness of the scene reported it to me; this witness was a beadel of the said Pope, called Master Erasmus Fullar, a priest of the kingdom of Hungary." [1]

Incidental pilgrimages apart, in ordinary times among the English, people went to Durham to visit the tomb of the holy Confessor Cuthbert, and the place where was kept his ever-victorious banner; to the shrine of King Edward the Confessor in Westminster; to St. Albans, St. Edmund's Bury, St. David's, on account of the saints after whom these towns are named; to Chichester, to worship the body of St. Richard the Bishop; to Glastonbury, where was the holy thorn-tree, and where the church had been founded by St. Joseph of Arimathea; to Waltham, where a cross of black marble had been miraculously found in the time of King Knut. Lincoln, York, Peterborough, Win-

[1] "*Loci e libro veritatum*, passages selected from Gascoigne's Theological Dictionary" (1403–1458), edit. Thorold Rogers, Oxford, 1881, p. 206. This Fullar is known to have come to England, where he saw Gascoigne. Eugene IV. was Pope during the second quarter of the fifteenth century.

chester, Holywell, Beverley, and other places had also attractions for the pilgrim; but none could stand comparison with Walsingham and Canterbury. At Walsingham there was a church and a chapel; in the church, now levelled to the ground, was kept a miraculous statue of the Virgin, and the building was exactly similar to the Santa Casa of Loretto, which may have been considered as a wonder in itself, for this chapel had been built in the eleventh century, long before the Casa was spoken of. In the church there was a phial with milk of the Virgin in it. People came there in numbers; the road which led to Walsingham was called the palmers' way, and numerous chapels were built along its line. The town itself was full of inns and hospitals; it was, in fact, a town of inns and churches, as pilgrimage towns have generally been.

Or else people hired horses at Southwark, with relays at Rochester, and set out for St. Thomas of Canterbury. This was the highroad to the continent; a regular service of hired horses had been established along it. Twelvepence was paid from Southwark to Rochester, twelvepence from Rochester to Canterbury, sixpence from Canterbury to Dover. The horses were marked with a hot iron in a prominent manner, so that unscrupulous travellers should not be tempted to quit the road and appropriate their steeds.[1] The sanctuary of our Lady of Walsingham and that of St. Thomas had a European reputation. Foreigners as well as the English had a great reverence for St. Thomas of Canter-

[1] Patent of 19 Richard II. in the appendix to Mr. Karkeek's essay, "Chaucer's Schipman and his Barge, 'The Maudelayne,'" Chaucer Society "Essays," 1884.

bury, and went to make offerings at his shrine when they could. Thus we find on August 3, 1402, a decree of the Venetian Senate authorizing Lorenzo Contarini, Captain of the Venetian galleys, setting out for Flanders, to visit this shrine conformably to his vow. He was to do it when the galleys were at Sandwich, and to go and return in one day, not being permitted to sleep out of his vessel.[1]

Rich and poor betook themselves there in numbers ; Chaucer, who shows us all ranks of society mingled together during the course of a holy journey, must not be charged with exaggeration. The majority of these pilgrims were sincere and in good faith ; they had made a vow and came to fulfil it. With such dispositions, the knight who found a pilgrim like himself upon his road must have been less inclined than ever to treat him with scorn ; besides, if the distances were great between class and class at this period, familiarities were still greater. The distance has indeed diminished at the present day, and familiarity also, as though in compensation. The noble felt himself sufficiently raised above the common people not to be afraid of using a kind of jovial intimacy with them on occasion ; at the present time, when superiority of rank is of less importance, every one is more attentive and takes care not to outstep a limit which is not now so patent as before.

Arrived at the end of the journey, all prayed ; prayed with fervour in the humblest posture. The soul was filled with religious emotion when from the end

[1] "Calendar of Venetian State Papers relating to English Affairs," edited by Rawdon Brown, 1864, vol. i. p. 42 (Rolls Series).

of the majestic alley formed by the great pillars of the church, through the coloured twilight of the nave, the heart divined, rather than the eye saw, the mysterious object of veneration for which such a distance had been traversed at the cost of such fatigue. Though the practical man galloping up to bargain with the saint for the favour of God, though the emissary sent to make offering in the name of his master might keep a dry and clear eye, tears coursed down the cheeks of the poor and simple in heart ; he tasted fully of the pious emotion he had come to seek, the peace of heaven descended into his bosom, and he went away consoled.

Such was the happy lot of simple devout souls. Pilgrims, however, were undoubtedly a very mingled race ; no reader of Chaucer needs to be reminded that the talk on the road was not always limited to edifying subjects, and that pilgrims themselves, even allowing the greater number to have been sincere and devout people, were not all of them vessels of election. Some went like gypsies to a fair, to gather money ; some went for the pleasures of the journey and the merriments of the road ; so that reformers and satirists, seeing only the abuse and not the good that might come along with it, began to raise a cry which became louder and louder until it was something like a storm at the time of the Reformation. Whom did Langland see on Palmers' way, near Walsingham ? Those same false hermits we have already met by the highroads and at the corner of bridges, and in what objectionable company did he find them !

" Eremytes on an hep with hokede staues,
Wenten to Walsyngham and hure (their) wenches after ;

Grete lobies and longe that loth were to swynke,
Clothede hem in copis to be knowe fro othere,
And made hem-selue Eremytes hure eise to haue."[1]

Wyclif denounced pilgrimages most persistently, so much so that when one of his followers had to renounce his heresies, belief in the usefulness and sanctity of pilgrimages was one of the articles he had to subscribe. Thus, in his vow of abjuration, the Lollard William Dynet of Nottingham, on December 1, 1395, swears in these words: "Fro this day forthwarde I shall worshipe ymages, with praying and offering vnto hem, in the worschepe of the seintes that they be made after; and also I shal neuermore despyse pylgremage."[2]

Poets of a reforming mind objected to pilgrimages, not so much on account of the worship of images, but because they thought these travels an encouragement to laziness and idle living. We know the opinion of Langland. It is curious to find the same views expressed by an author of a quite different turn of mind, the author of the "Roman du Renart." He has a special chapter to inform us "of the pilgrimage of Reynard and how he went to Rome." Reynard cannot but consider that he has greatly and many a time sinned, and feeling some anxiety about his misdeeds, goes to a hermit and confesses himself. But such are the faults he has to declare that the holy man does not take upon himself to absolve him, but advises him to go to Rome and ask the absolution of the Pope. Reynard accordingly "takes his scrip and burdon [that is, his

[1] "Piers Plowman," Skeat's edition, Text C, pass. i. l. 51.
[2] Printed in *The Academy*, November 17, 1883, p. 331.

wallet and staff, as did all pilgrims], and begins to move on, and takes to his road ; he looks quite like a pilgrim, his scrip fits his neck beautifully." But travelling alone is not pleasant; he meets Belin the Sheep, and persuades him to come with him, and a little farther a donkey, "Bernart the arch-priest," who was eating thistles in a ditch ; he also secures this new companion. As night is coming, the three, finding themselves near the house of Primaut the Wolf, enter without ceremony and make themselves at home, while the owners of the place are away. They find there "salted meat, cheese, and eggs . . . and good ale. Belin drinks so much that he loses his head, and then begins to sing, and the arch-priest to organ-bray, and Master Reynard sings in falsetto." But their merriment is soon at an end. The alarm has been given; Ysengrin, Hersent, and a number of other wolves, relations, friends, compeers of Primaut, who all of them owe grudges to Reynard, come round and besiege the pilgrims. They escape with great difficulty. Ill-pleased with these grievous adventures, they agree not to go to Rome at all, and Reynard, to whom, rather against likeliness, the author here lends his own thoughts, winds up the enterprise with a speech: 'My lords,' says he, 'by my head, this wandering is loathsome and tiring. There is in the world many a good man that has never been to Rome; such an one has come back from the seven saints who is worse than he ever was. I mean to take my way home, and I shall live by my labour and seek honest earnings; I shall be charitable to poor people.' Then they cried, 'Be it so, be it so,' and they betook themselves homewards." [1]

[1] See Appendix XVII.

The same mode of reasoning was used later on at the time of the Renaissance by no less a man than Erasmus, who has described in his most satirical vein the vanities of pilgrims and pilgrimages. He supposes a meeting of two friends, Menedemus and Ogygyus, this last one being just come back from Compostella, and, what is more interesting for us, from Walsingham, "the most holy name in all England. . . . The towne is almost susteynyd by the resort of pylgrymes." The faithful believer Ogygyus goes on describing the wonders of the place, the gold and silver and precious stones offered to the miraculous statue of our Lady, the marvels worked at the holy wells, the miracle of the knight towards whom the portal of the church stretched itself, the beautiful relics, and especially the crystal phial containing some milk of the Virgin. "Whan ye sexten sawe vs, he dyd runne to the aultre, and put apon hym his surplese and his stole about his nekke, knelyd downe relygyously and worshipyd it, and streghtforthe dyd offre the mylke to vs to kysse." The same ceremony with surplice and kneeling, though it has vanished into oblivion at Walsingham, may still be seen any day in numerous churches in the south of Europe.[1]

Ogygyus and his friends make their offerings, not without remarking that there are some unscrupulous visitors who, by a clever trick, pick money out of the plate instead of leaving in it any of their own: a trick which, as we have seen, was used by Panurge on a certain day when he was somewhat "escorné et taciturne" for want of pence.

[1] For example at Milan, at the tomb of San Carlo Borromeo.

Erasmus ends his dialogue in the same strain as the author of "Reynard":

"'I have enough to do,' says the sceptical Menedemus, "'with my statyons of Rome.'

"*Ogygyus.* Of Rome, that dyd neuer see Rome?

"*Menedemus.* I wyll tell you, thus I go my statyons at home. I go in to the parler, and I se vnto the chast lyuynge of my doughters; agayne frome thense I go in to my shope, I beholde what my servauntes, bothe men and women, be doynge. From thense into the kytchyn, lokynge abowt, if ther nede any of my cownsell; frome thense hyther and thyther, obseruynge howe my chylderne be occupyed, what my wyffe dothe, beynge carefull that euery thynge be in ordre: these be statyons of Rome.

"*Ogygyus.* But these thynges saynt James wold dow for yow.

"*Menedemus.* That I shuld se vnto these thynges holy Scripture commaundethe; that I shuld commyt the charge to sayntes I dyd rede yt neuer commaunded."[1]

The friend of Erasmus, Sir Thomas More, took the opposite view, and wrote a dialogue in defence of images, relics, and pilgrimages, but in vain.[2] The

[1] "A Dialoge or communication of two persons, deuysyd and set forthe in the laten tonge, by the noble and famose clarke, Desiderius Erasmus, inituled ye pylgremage of pure deuotyon. Newly translatyd into Englishe." London (1540?), 16°.

[2] "A Dyaloge of syr Thomas More knyghte . . . wherin be treatyd dyuers maters, as of the veneration and worshyp of ymagys and relyques, praying to sayntys, and goyng on pylgrymage, wyth many othere thyngys touchyng the pestylent sect of Luther and Tyndale." London, 1529, 4°.

time of the Reformation had come; doubt was becoming general, and from peasant to baron all the people assimilated arguments like those of Latimer:

"What thinke ye of these images that are had more then their felowes in reputation? that are gone vnto with such labour and werines of the body, frequented with such our cost, sought out and visited with such confidence? what say ye by these images, that are so famous, so noble, so noted, beying of them so many and so diuers in England. Do you thinke that this preferryng of picture to picture, image to image, is the right vse, and not rather the abuse of images?" [1]

These times were yet to come. In the Middle Ages pilgrims came in numbers to offer their prayers, and also money, each one in proportion to his means. When the king, in his perpetual goings and comings, turned aside to visit a revered shrine, it was the custom that he should give seven shillings. The ordinances of Edward II. for his household make express mention of the sum.[2]

Before going away the pilgrims bought, then as now, medals or signs as recollections of their journey.[3]

[1] The sermon . . . made . . . to the conuocation of the clergy (28 Henry VIII.), in "Frutefvll sermons preached by the right reverend father and constant martyr of Jesus Christ, M. Hugh Latymer." London, 1571, p. 10.

[2] Ordinance for the state of the wardrobe and the account of the household, June, 1323. "King Edward II.'s Household and Wardrobe Ordinances," ed. Furnivall, Chaucer Society, 1876, p. 62.

[3] C. Roach Smith has described a number of them in his "Collectanea Antiqua," London, 1848, vol. i. p. 81, and vol. ii. p. 43. He has given drawings of many which had been "dis-

The author of the supplement to the "Canterbury Tales" at the beginning of the fifteenth century shows the pilgrims purchasing in the town various sorts of *sygnys* or *brochis*. They were merely of pewter or lead, and were perforated to be more easily sewn on the breast or cap, rather like those which are sold at the present day at St. Anne d'Auray in Brittany, but larger. At Canterbury they represented St. Thomas, and were usually in the shape of an ampulla or a little flask; at St. James' they represented shells; at Amiens the head of St. John the Baptist: "Ecce signum faciei beati Johannis Baptiste"; at Rome the holy sudary, which was called the vernicle;[1] at Rocamadour the Holy Virgin. The right of selling these signs was a source of profit, and it sometimes belonged exclusively to a convent or to a private family. At Rocamadour this right had been conceded in return, it seems, for military services to the family of the De Valon, lords of

covered chiefly in the bed of the Thames, and in making the approaches to new London Bridge."

[1] Among the ornaments worn by Chaucer's pardoner was a "vernicle" on his cap, as may be seen in the drawing, p. 337. Sir Thomas More, in his "Dialogue" (*supra*, p. 354) describes as follows the vernicle represented on pilgrims' medals: How, says he, can it be maintained that Christ blames images, "where he lykyd to leue the holy vernacle, thexpresse ymage also of hys blessid vysage, as a token to remain inhonour among such as louyd hym from ye tyme of hys bytter passyon hytherto, whych as it was by the myracle of hys blessid holy hand expressed and lefte in ye sudari: so hath yt bene by lyke myracle in that thyn corruptyble cloth kepte and preseruyd vncorrupted thys xv. C. yere freshe and well perceyued, to ye inwarde cumforte, spyrytuall reioysyng and grete encreace of feruoure and deuocyon in the harts of good crysten people" (Sig. B. iii.).

Thegra.[1] They and the Bishop of Tulle appointed a deputy to superintend the sale, and the produce was divided by halves between them and the bishop. Such were the benefits derived from these sales that clandestine manufactories of pewter medals were established by the inhabitants, who sold numbers of them, to the great detriment of the authorized shop and in defiance of ever-recurring prohibitions. Once, however, free selling was allowed to all the people of the place; it was in the year 1425, when the country had been reduced to such poverty that the bishop renounced his privilege for two years, out of charity and for the benefit of his flock.

Pilgrims when going home were careful to wear prominently sewn on their garments these testimonials of their holy travels. In the above-quoted dialogue of Erasmus, the sceptical Menedemus wonders at the appearance of his friend: "I pray you, what araye is this that you be in; me thynke that you be clothyd with cockle schelles, and be laden on euery side with bruches of lead and tynne. And you be pretely garnyshed with wrethes of strawe, and your arme is full of snakes egges." The French king Louis XI., of grim memory, was usually dressed about in the same manner, and always wore, at least on his hat, some such pewter medals and brooches. "And truly," writes his contemporary, Claude de Seyssel, "his devotion seemed more superstitious than religious. For to whatever image or church of God and the saints or of Our Lady that he heard the people were devoted, or where

[1] "Guide du pélerin à Rocamadour," by M. le Chanoine Laporte, Rocamadour, 1862, chap. viii.

miracles were worked, he went there to make offerings, or sent a man there expressly. He had, besides, his hat quite full of images, mostly of lead or pewter, which he kissed on all occasions when any good or bad news arrived, or that his fancy prompted him; casting himself upon his knees so suddenly at times, in whatever place he might be, that he seemed more like one wounded in his understanding than a rational man." [1]

Like the king, Louis XI., the professional pilgrims wore a great number of images and medals on their coats. For, beside the occasional pilgrim who came to make an offering to such or such a shrine in accomplishment of a vow and afterwards returned to take up the course of his ordinary life again, there was the pilgrim by calling, whose whole existence was passed in travelling from one sanctuary to another, always on the road, and always begging. The professional pardoner and the professional palmer, who, among other places had seen Jerusalem and carried on his shoulder the palm of the Holy Land, are the two most curious types of the religious wayfaring race, and have hardly any equivalent in our days. Like the pardoner and the friar, the pilgrim had by calling a great experience of men and things; he had seen much, but with what he retained he mingled a world of imaginations born of his own brain. He too had to edify the multitude to whom he held out his hand for alms, and the grand stories of which he was the hero might not fail him

[1] "Les louenges du roy Louys xij^e^. de ce nom," nouvellement composées par maistre Claude de Seyssel, docteur en tous droits. Paris, 1508, sign. f. iii.

under pain of dying of hunger, they formed his livelihood. By virtue of repeating his tales, he finished by first half believing them, then entirely; and his voice thence took that accent of truth which alone can produce conviction in the audience. Besides, he came from such a distance that he might indeed have seen marvels; around us, thought they, life flows on without prodigies, almost without events in its flat monotony; but every one knows that in distant countries things are quite different. And the best proof is that none of those who have undertaken the journey comes back disappointed; quite the contrary; besides, the pleasure of believing them is innocent enough, and we shall do wrong to deprive ourselves of it.

Clever people, poets, men of the world, of course deprived themselves of this pleasure; they made up this deficiency as best they could another way, by laughing at pilgrims and all story-telling travellers. In this way Chaucer put together for public merriment, sailors, messengers, and pilgrims, as we have already seen. To the same effect but in a graver mood, Langland wrote in his "Visions":

> "Pylgrimis and palmers plyghten hem to-gederes,
> To seche saint Iame and seyntys of rome,
> Wenten forth in hure (their) way with meny vn-wyse tales,
> And hauen leue to lye al hure lyf-tyme."[1]

The crowd reasoned in a different way; they listened, laughed perhaps sometimes, but more often collected themselves and remained attentive. The pilgrim was enough respected to find his living; and he took care

[1] Skeat's edition, Text C, pass. i. l. 47.

by the recital of his miseries to make himself the more revered; the numerous leaden medals sewn to his clothes spoke highly in his favour, and a man was well received who had passed through Rome and through Jerusalem, and could give news of the "worshippers" of Mahomet. He had a bag hung at his side for provisions, and a staff in his hand; at the top of the staff was a knob and sometimes a piece of metal with an appropriate inscription, as, for example, the device of a bronze ring found at Hitchin, a cross with these words, "Hæc in tute dirigat iter" ("May this direct thee in safety on the way").[1] The staff at the other end had an iron point, like an alpenstock of the present day; it may be seen in numerous drawings in manuscripts.

But, as we have remarked, the whole race of wanderers was looked at askance by the king's officers; these goings and comings disquieted the sheriff. We know that the workmen who were weary of their master left him under pretext of distant pilgrimages, and without scruple laid down the pilgrim's staff at the door of a new master who would pay them better.

[1] See the drawing of this ring in vol. viii. of the "Archæological Journal," p. 360. The stick or pilgrim's staff and the bag or "scrip" were notoriously the signs of pilgrims. In the romance of King Horn, the hero meets on his road a *palmer*, and to disguise himself changes clothes with him; in this transformation the author only points out the characteristic particulars, that is to say, the staff and the bag. "Horn took burdon and scrippe." ("King Horn, with fragments of Floris and Blaunchefl ur," ed. by J. H. Lumby, Early English Text Society, 1866.) We have seen above, p. 352, that Reynard on his way to Rome took exactly the same implements.

False pilgrims were not less numerous than false pardoners and false hermits; they were condemned to repose, under pain of imprisonment, by the same statutes as the beggars and the wandering workmen. Henceforward, orders Richard II. in 1388, they also must have, like these, letters of passage with a special seal entrusted to certain law-worth men. Without that let them be arrested, unless they are infirm and in-

AN ENGLISH PILGRIM.
(*From the MS.* 17 *C.* xxxviii.)

capable of work; it is evident that in this latter case they do not go to Walsingham for the love of vagabondage, and that their journey has a serious object.[1] The same severity was shown when it was a matter of crossing the sea; they must be furnished with passports in order; and the law comprises "all manner of people, as well clerks as other," under pain of confiscation of all

[1] Statute 12 Rich. II. cap 7.

their goods. The reservations made by the king show that it is the wanderers alone whom he has in view, for there is a dispensation for the "lords and other great persons of the realm," for the "true and notable merchants," and lastly, for the "king's soldiers." [1]

This passport or "licence," this "special leave of the king," could only be available at certain fixed ports, namely, London, Sandwich, Dover, Southampton, Plymouth, Dartmouth, Bristol, Yarmouth, Boston, Kingston-upon-Hull, Newcastle-upon-Tyne, and the ports of the coast opposite to Ireland. Very heavy penalties were laid on all wardens of ports, inspectors, captains of ships, &c., who were neglectful, or so bold as to be favourable to the roamers. In the year 1389, the king restrained pilgrims who were going on the Continent from embarking anywhere else than from Dover or Plymouth. To take sea elsewhere it would be necessary to have an "especial licence from the king himself." [2] A number of such licences, as will be seen further on, are still in existence.

But the attraction to distant pilgrimages was great ; [3] with or without letters men crossed the Channel, for

[1] Statute 5 Rich. II. st. 1, c. 2. Restrictions on pilgrimage-making existed also in France. See an ordinance of Charles VI., February 27, 1399, prohibiting pilgrimage to Rome. "Recueil d'Isambert," vol. vi. p. 843.

[2] "Rolls of Parliament," 13 Rich. II. vol. iii. p. 275, and Statute 1, cap. 20 of 13 Rich. II.

[3] As to the number of pilgrimages, their origin, and history, see the "Dictionnaire, géographique, historique, descriptif, archéologique des pélerinages anciens et modernes," by L. de Sivry et M. de Champagnac, Paris, 1850, 2 vols. 8vo, forming vols. xliii. and xliv. of Migne's "Encyclopédie théologique."

which they paid sixpence, or if they had a horse, two shillings.[1] They arrived at Calais, stopping there some time in a "Maison-Dieu," or hospital, which had been built and endowed by pious souls with revenues "for the sustenance of the pilgrims and other poor folks repairing to the said town to rest and refresh them."[2] Setting out again, they went to Boulogne to pray to a miraculous virgin, whose hand still exists enclosed in a reliquary. The statue itself was thrown into a well by the Protestants in 1567; replaced on the altar in 1630, it was pulled down again at the Revolution and burnt; but one of the faithful saved the hand, which the church of Notre Dame preserves to this day. Chaucer's travelled gossip, the Wife of Bath, had among other pilgrimages, made this to Boulogne.[3] People also went to Amiens to worship a head of St. John the Baptist. Great was the wonder of the worthy knight, Sir John de Mandeville, when, after having duly reverenced this relic, he fell in with another head of the same saint at Constantinople. Upon which occurrence he remarks with much shrewdness and good sense: Which is the true one? "I wot nere, but God knowethe; but

[1] Statute 4 Ed. III. c. 8.

[2] Petition of the Calais burgesses, "Rolls of Parliament," vol. iii. p. 500, 4 Henry IV., A.D. 1402. In Dover too, on the opposite shore, there was such a house, the inventory of which has been printed. Walcott, "Inventories of St. Mary's Hospital or Maison-Dieu, Dover," London, 1869. In the diary of his travels, during the sixteenth century, the Greek Nicander Nucius observes that the town of Dover seemed to be made almost entirely of inns and hotels. ("The Travels of Nicander Nucius of Corcyra," Camden Society, 1841.)

[3] See Prof. J. W. Hales' letter to *The Academy* of April 22, 1882, (p. 287).

in what wyse than men worschipen it, the blessed seynt John holt him a-payd."[1] Then also people went to the shrine of the three kings at Cologne, to Paris where innumerable relics were kept, and to many places in France, among which one of the most celebrated and to the present day most curious was our Lady of Rocamadour in Guyenne. The fame of this pilgrimage among Englishmen is attested by Langland, when he advises people belonging to the religious orders to cease pilgrimage-making, and rather practice virtue at home :

> "Right so, if thow be Religious renne thou neuer ferther
> To Rome ne to Rochemadore."[2]

It was a place of great renown. Roland, according to a legend, went there before starting for the ill-fated expedition where he met his death, and a large piece of rusted iron is still shown in the old church as being part of the famous Durandal. Henry II. of England came there, too, as a pilgrim ; as did many other illustrious travellers, Simon de Montfort among them.[3] The place was fortified and had a part to play in the Hundred Years' War. It may be seen in Lord Berners's Froissart, "howe Sir Robert Carrol and Sir John Chandos . . . toke Guaches, Rochemador, and diuers other townes, the which wer newly turned frenche."[4]

Then there were Spanish pilgrimages, and especially

[1] Halliwell's edition, 1866, p. 108.
[2] Text B, p. xii. l. 37. Skeat's edition.
[3] A. B. Caillau, "Histoire de Notre Dame de Rocamadour," Paris, 1834, pp. 73, *et seq.*
[4] Vol. i. ch. cclviii.

FORTIFIED ENTRANCE TO THE SANCTUARIES OF ROCAMADOUR. [*p.* 365.
(*Recently restored.*)

the world-famous one at Compostella, where English travellers went usually direct by sea. Licences authorizing the owners and captain of such or such a ship to carry to St. James' a fixed number of pilgrims are still in existence, and fill page after page in Rymer's "Fœdera." They were granted pursuant to the statute of Richard above mentioned, and are all drawn after one or two models, varying very little one from the other. They are in Latin, with the name of the ship in French. Here is an example of the year 1394:

"The king, to all and each of his Admirals, &c., greeting.

"Know you that we have given licence to Oto Chambernoun, William Gilbert, and Richard Gilbert, to receive and embark in the harbour of Dartmouth a hundred pilgrims in a certain ship belonging to the same Oto, William, and Richard, called la Charité de Paynton, of which Peter Cok is captain; and to take them to Saint James, there to fulfil their vows, and from thence to bring them back to England, freely and without hindrance, notwithstanding any ordinances to the contrary."[1]

A few provisos are added, the keeping of which the pilgrims must swear before leaving England; they must upon their oath bind themselves to do nothing contrary to the obedience and fealty they owe the king; they must not take out of the realm gold or silver in money or bullion beyond what is necessary to their journey, and sometimes it is added that they must not reveal the secrets of the kingdom.

During the following century these licences became innumerable, or rather they have been preserved in much

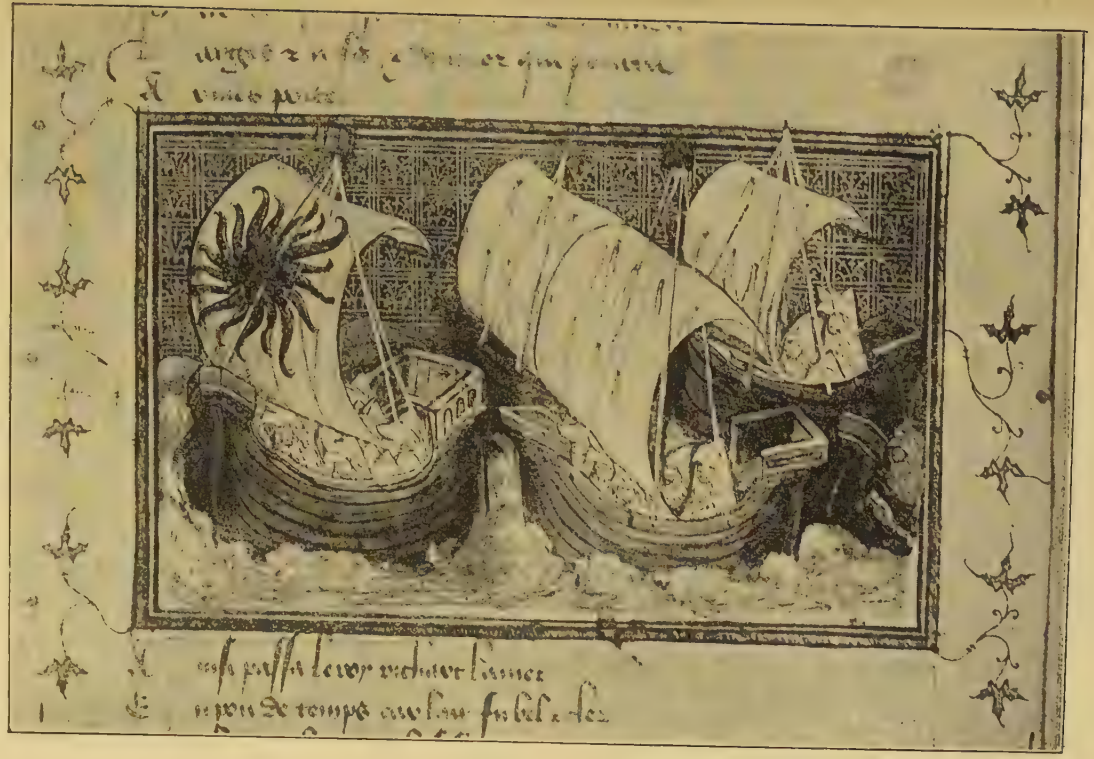
[1] "Fœdera," ed. 1704, &c., vol. vii. p. 468, 17 Rich. II. 1394.

larger numbers. They show that, in fact, fleets loaded with English pilgrims plied towards St. James'. We find that "Le Petre de Darthmouth" is allowed to carrry sixty pilgrims; "La Marie de Southampton," a hundred; "La Sainte Marie de Blakney," sixty; "Le Garlond de Crowemere," sixty; "La Trinité de Wells," forty; "Le Thomas de Saltash," sixty; and so on. Numbers usually vary from thirty to one hundred.[1]

It must not be thought that these ships, carrying a hundred passengers besides their crew on this rather long journey, were large, well-appointed vessels. They very much resembled the pilgrim-ships of the present day, who carry every year to Jeddah, on the Red Sea, crowds of Arabs on their way to Mecca. The pilgrims were huddled together in the most uncomfortable fashion, and had opportunities in plenty to do penance and offer their sufferings to the saint. This may be determined by more than probabilities, for one of those English pilgrims, thus allowed by royal licence to go to Galicia provided that they did not reveal the secrets of the realm, has left a complaint about his experience on such a journey, that has survived. You must not think of laughing, says he, when you go by sea to St. James'; there is sea-sickness; you are pushed about by sailors under pretext of hindering the working of the ship; the smell is most unpleasant:

> "Men may leue alle gamys
> That saylen to Seynt Jamys!
> Ffor many a man hit gramys (vexes)
> When they begin to sayle.

[1] "Fœdera," 12 Hen. VI. 1434, vol. x. pp. 567–569.



TRAVELLING BY SEA IN THE FOURTEENTH CENTURY.
(*From the MS. Harl.* 1319.)

[*p.* 369.

Ffor when they haue take the see
At Sandwych or at Wynchylsee,
At Bristow, or where that hit bee,
Theyr hertes begyn to fayle."

The mocking remarks of the seamen are very painful to bear. Says the captain:

"Some ar lyke to cowgh and grone
Or hit be full mydnyght;"

and then turning to his men:

"'Hale the bowelyne! now, vere the shete!
Cooke, make redy anoon our mete,
Our pylgryms haue no lust to ete,
I pray God yeue hem rest!'

'Go to the helm! what, howe! no nere?
Steward, felow! A pot of bere!'—
—'Ye shalle have sir, with good chere,
Anon alle of the best.'"

Pilgrims were sea-sick; they could not eat, they were laughed at, they found the time very long; some tried to read with a book on their knees, but then they felt as if their head would burst:

"Som layde theyr bookys on theyr kne,
And rad so long they myght nat se;—
'Allas! myne hede wolle cleue on thre!'"

When they are at their worst, then comes a facetious sailor to bawl out in their ears: Cheer up, in a moment we shall be in a storm!

"Then cometh oone and seyth : 'Be mery ;
Ye shall haue a storme or a pery ' (a squall)

* * * *

Thys mene whyle the pylgryms ly
And haue theyr bowlys fast theym by."

In short, they were very unhappy, and as the narrator said at first, they were little inclined to games and laughter.[1]

Everywhere votive offerings were hung in venerated sanctuaries ; if, on one hand, by striking a wax statuette together with appropriate incantations some one might do you great harm, on the other, by placing your image in the chapel of a saint, great favours might be won for you, especially cures in cases of sickness.[2] There were prisoners' irons, swords of warriors, crutches of cripples, jewels and precious stones, tablets and offerings of all sorts. At Rocamadour tresses of women's hair were to be seen ; they hung there as a threat as well as an admonition. "They were, relates the knight of La Tour Landry, those of "ladies and gentille women that had be wasshe in wyne, and in other thinges for to make the here of colour otherwise thanne God made it, the whiche ladies and gentille women that aught (owned) the tresses were comynge thedirward on pilgrimage, but they may neuer haue powere to come withinne the chirche dore vnto the tyme that thei hadde

[1] "The Stacions of Rome and the Pilgrim's Sea Voyage," ed. Furnivall, Early English Text Society, 1867, p. 47. This complaint on the Compostella pilgrimage is of the fifteenth century.

[2] "The Paston Letters," ed. Jas. Gairdner, vol. i. p. 48. Letter of Margaret Paston of September 28, 1443.

cutte of the tresses of her here,"[1] which, says he, still continue to be there.

Another fine story to the same effect and concerning the same sanctuary is told by Miélot, who reports how a very fair lady, who had led an ill life, lost her sight as a punishment, through the will of Heaven. She went in pilgrimage to Rocamadour, prayed to the Virgin, and was healed, but could not, however, enter the sanctuaries. She then confessed on the spot to a priest, who, "looking at her fair face," said: "Dear friend, I well know that with these fair tresses of your hair you have done great hurt to those to whom you have shown them. I decide that they must be cut off in honour of God and of our Lady." This was done; "the tresses were cut, and the priest had them carried inside the church on a pole, on which were placed the tresses of women who would be saved." Then the lady was able to enter the church, and she praised the Virgin. But as she was going away she could not help thinking "of her fair hair that she had left," and she exclaimed: "Holy Mary, my heart is sorrowful for my hair that I leave you, and I cannot well make up my mind to it." She had scarcely spoken when the tresses were at once restored to her "as fair as they were before;" but the blindness came back too, and blind she remained for ever, which is a good example, "ung bel exemplaire," for ladies that "seek false pleasures in their fine waists and faces."[2]

[1] "The Book of the Knight of La Tour Landry," translated from the French *temp.* Henry VI., edited by Thomas Wright (Early English Text Society), 1868, p. 70. The original French work is of the fourteenth century.

[1] "Miracles de Nostre Dame," collected by Jean Miélot, edited

But what attracted many besides were the indulgences. They were considerable, and the popular imagination still further augmented their extent. The pilgrim who, returning from Rome, came to his home, exaggerated their number as willingly as that of the marvels which he had seen, or thought he had seen. A pilgrim of this kind has left his impressions of his journey in a short poem; he was an Englishman of the fourteenth century, who came back from Italy dazzled by his recollections. His fancy is not very poetic, but we must take into account his intention, which was merely to collect exact figures; thus without delaying for picturesque descriptions, he only gives us precise information. His strong narrow devotion allowed him to see nothing else than thousands of the bodies of martyrs, and he enumerated them with perseverance. By thousands also are reckoned the years of indulgence which he flashes as a lure in the eyes of his fellow countrymen.

> "Gif men wuste (knew), grete and smale,
> The pardoun that is at grete Rome,
> Thei wolde tellen in heore dome (in their opinion),
> Hit were no neod to mon in cristiante
> To passe in to the holy lond ouer the see
> To Jerusalem, ne to Kateryne." [1]

But to begin with, he must give an abridgment of the history of Rome; it is a city to which first came the Duchess of Troy with her two sons, Romulus and Ro-

by G. F. Warner, Roxburghe Club, 1885, p. 58. This version of the tale is of the fifteenth century, but the story itself is much older.

[1] *I.e.*, St. Catherine on Mount Sinai.

mulon, who afterwards founded the town. The duchess thus seems to have chosen to establish herself in a city which did not yet exist, an inadvertence in the narrator which we must pardon. Rome was pagan at first, but Peter and Paul

> "Hit hedde i-bought,
> With gold ne seluer, ne with no goode,
> Bot with heore flesch and with heore blode."

The enumeration of the churches soon begins, and for each of them we invariably learn the quantity of relics kept in it, and of indulgences attached to it. The benefits are proportioned to the merits; thus when a man sees the *vernicle*, that is, the holy sudary or handkerchief which received the image of the Saviour, he wins three thousand years of indulgence if he dwells in Rome, nine thousand if he comes from a neighbouring country,

> "And thou that passest over the see
> Twelve thousend yer is graunted to the."

When you enter Sts. Vitus and Modestus, the third of your sins are remitted. Then, you descend into the catacombs:

> "But thou most take candel liht,
> Elles thou gost merk (dark) as niht,
> For vnder the eorthe most thou wende
> Thou maight not see bifore ne bihynde
> For thider fledde mony men
> For drede of deth to sauen hem
> And suffrede peynes harde and sore
> In heuene to dwelle for euer more."

The bodies of martyrs are innumerable ;[1] there are four thousand of them at Saint Prudence, thirteen hundred at Saint Praxede, seven thousand at Sts. Vitus and Modestus. From time to time a famous name brings up an historic glimpse, such as the recital of the foundation of Rome, or the abridged life of Constantine:

"In Mahoun was al his thouht."

He was at first a pagan and a leper, but according to our author's information, he was converted and cured by Pope Silvester. The church of St. Mary the Round, formerly bore another name:

"Agrippa dude hit make
For Sibyl and Neptanes sake
* * * *
He gaf hit name Panteon."

He placed there a magnificent golden idol sitting, of a particular shape :

"Hit looked forth as a cat,
He called it Neptan."

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[1] William Wey, in the fifteenth century, thus mentions the catacombs : "Item ibi est una spelunca nuncupata Sancti Kalixti cimiterium, et qui eam pertransit cum devocione, illi indulgentur omnia sua peccata. Et ibi multa corpora sanctorum sunt, que nullus hominum numerare nequit nisi solus Deus" ("The Itineraries of William Wey," Roxburghe Club, 1857, p. 146). Wey, like the author of the poem, sometimes mentions prodigious numbers of bodies of martyrs ; at the church called Scala Celi, "sunt ossa sanctorum decem millia militum ;" in one single part of St. Peter's at Rome, there are "Petronella et xiii. millia sanctorum martyrum."

This idol had a cap or cover of brass which was blown off by the wind, and carried to the church of St. Peter. But Pope Boniface prayed the Emperor Julian to give him the Pantheon, to which that prince consented; and one year, on November 1st, the sovereign pontiff consecrated the building, and baptized it St. Mary the Round.

As for relics, there is not an object mentioned by the Gospel which has not been found, and which may not be venerated at Rome.[1] The table of the Last Supper may be seen there, Aaron's rod, fragments of the multiplied loaves and fishes, hay from the stall at Bethlehem, a swaddling-cloth of the infant Jesus, and several other things, some of which are strange enough. Some of these relics are still in the same churches; for instance, the portrait of the Virgin by St. Luke at Santa Marie Maggiore,[2] "Seinte Marie the Maiour." This is not, according to the pilgrim, a picture really made by St. Luke; he was going to do it, and had prepared all his colours, when he suddenly found the portrait before him, finished by the hands of angels:

[1] William Wey (fifteenth century) said of the church of the Holy Cross: "Item, ibi sunt duo ciphi, unus plenus sanguine Ihesu Cristi, and alter plenus lacte beate Marie Virginis" ("Itineraries," p. 146). Those who drink at the three fountains which gushed out at the death of St. Paul are cured of all maladies; those who visit the church of St. Mary of the Annunciation will never be struck by lightning; at the church of St. Vivian there is "herba crescens quam ipsa plantavit et valet contra caducum morbum." At the church of St. Sebastian is shown a foot-print of Jesus; and there it is, in fact, still to be seen at the present day. (Ibid. pp. 143–148.)

[2] In the Borghese chapel.

"Seint Luik while he liued in londe,
Wolde haue peynted hit with his honde,
And whon he hedde ordeyned so
Alle colours that schulde ther to,
He fond an ymage al a-pert,
Non such ther was middelert,
Mad with angel hond and not with his
As men in Rome witnesseth this." [1]

Other towns in Italy could almost rival Rome with the precious relics in their churches; Venice especially was full of wonders of all sorts, and was admired and visited accordingly, as may be seen from the travelling notes of a troop of French pilgrims in the year 1395. In this "most excellent, noble, great and fine town all seated in the sea" may be seen the arm of "our Lord St. George," the burdon of St. Nicholas, one of the water-pots of Cana, one ear of St. Paul, some of the "roasted flesh of St. Lawrence turned to powder," three of the stones thrown at St. Stephen, the body of St. Mark, "which is a very fine and noble thing." Besides, there is "in the Maison-Dieu of Venice one of the molar teeth of a giant that was called Goliath, which

[1] "The Stacions of Rome" (fourteenth century), edited by F. J. Furnivall, Early English Text Society, 1867. Another version of the same poem, with various readings, was printed in "Political, Religious, and Love Poems," by the same editor (Early English Text Society), in 1866, p. 113. See in this last volume notes by Mr. W. M. Rossetti on the "Stacions," pp. xxi–xlviii. He compares the information furnished by the author of the poem to that given by the Italian Francino in the book composed by him in 1600, on the same subject. Mr. Rossetti indicates also what is still shown at Rome of the relics named in the "Stacions."

giant David killed, and know you that this tooth is more than half a foot long and weighs twelve pounds." [1]

It was after this fashion that the traveller related his recollections, and these are epitomes of the discourses which he held forth to his countrymen. The wish to set out in their turn was awakened, and those who remained in the village joined from their soul in the pilgrim's work, and indeed in giving him help. On his road he was treated in the same way by pious persons, and it was thanks to these customs that poor persons could accomplish distant pilgrimages. The rules of several gilds provided for the case of a member who might set out thus to fulfil a vow. In order to take part in his merits, all the "bretheren and sisteren" accompanied him out of the town, and on bidding him farewell gave him some money. They watched their friend go off with his measured step, beginning a journey across many countries, which must last during months, sometimes during years. They returned to the town, and the elders who knew the world no doubt told what strange things their companion would see in those distant lands, and what subjects for continual edification he would meet with on his road.

The Gild of the Resurrection at Lincoln, founded in 1374, has among its rules, "If any brother or sister wishes to make pilgrimage to Rome, St. James of Galicia, or the Holy Land, he shall forewarn the gild; and all the bretheren and sisteren shall go with him to the city gate, and each shall give him a half-penny at least."

[1] "Le Saint Voyage de Jhérusalem du Seigneur d'Anglure," ed. Bonnardot and Longnon, Societé des Anciens Textes Français, 1878, pp. 3, 4.

The same rule is found in the Gild of Fullers of Lincoln, founded in 1297; the pilgrim going to Rome was accompanied as far as the Queen's Cross outside the town if he left on a Sunday or a feast-day; and if he could let them know of his return and it were not a working day, all went to meet him at the same place and accompanied him to the monastery. Again, the tailors also give a half-penny to him among them who is going to Rome or St. James, and a penny to him who goes to the Holy Land. The ordinances of the Gild of the Virgin, founded at Hull in 1357, had: "If any brother or sister of the gild wishes at any time to make a pilgrimage to the Holy Land, then, in order that all the gild may share in his pilgrimage, he shall be fully released from his yearly payment until his return."

There were also gilds which kept open house to receive the pilgrims, always with the same object of joining themselves by some good work to that of the traveller. Thus the gild-merchant of Coventry, founded in 1340, maintained "a common lodging-house of thirteen beds," to receive poor travellers who cross the country going on pilgrimage or from any other pious motive. This hostelry was directed by a governor, aided by a woman who washed the feet of the travellers and took care of them. The annual expenditure on this foundation was ten pounds sterling.[1]

When one of the king's servants had a pilgrimage to make, the prince, understanding his motive, willingly authorized him to depart, and even helped him with money. Edward III. gave to William Clerk, one of his messengers, one pound six shillings and eightpence, to

[1] Toulmin Smith, "English Gilds," pp. 157, 177, 180, 182, 231.

help him in his charges during the pilgrimage undertaken by him to Jerusalem and Mount Sinai.[1]

Yet, as we have seen, the fourteenth century was not an age of serious and true devotion. The Popes lived at Avignon, their prestige was declining, and particularly in England; even the prelates showed at times very little respect for the Roman Court. Nowhere can be found, not even in Wyclif, more violent accusations nor more scandalous anecdotes concerning the Pope than in the chronicle composed by Thomas of Burton, Abbot of Meaux. The way he speaks of indulgences is also very free. As a special favour to the faithful who died during a pilgrimage to Rome, Clement VI. "ordered the angels of Paradise," writes the abbot, "to lead their souls straight to the gates of heaven without making them pass through purgatory."[2] The same Pope granted what the pilgrim above quoted seems to have ignored, that those who should see the holy sudary should return to the state they were in before baptism. Lastly, "he confirmed all the indulgences granted by two hundred sovereign pontiffs his predecessors, which are innumerable."

At the period when the monastic chroniclers without scruple wrote down in their books anecdotes on the Roman Court like those of Thomas of Burton, the general devotion was not merely lessened, it was disorganized, gone mad. The chroniclers show, indeed,

[1] Devon's "Issues of the Exchequer," 1837, p. 159.

[2] "Chronica monasterii de Melsa," ed. E. A. Bond, 1868, vol. iii. p. 88 (Rolls Series). The Abbot of Meaux declares that Clement VI. replied to the reproaches of his confessor as to his bad life: "Quod facimus modo facimus consilio medicorum." About his theory of the "treasury," see *supra*, p. 311.

that the excesses of impiety clashed with the excesses of fervour, and it was thus that, for example, the false pardoner, a retail merchant of the merits of saints, met the bleeding flagellant upon the highway.[1] The papacy might show great good sense by the condemnations which it hurled against both ;[2] its decrees did not suffice to restore the equilibrium of men's minds, and the bounds of reason were continually being passed; in ardent piety as in impious revolt men went to the verge of madness. It is painful to read the recital of the obscene sacrileges committed in York Cathedral by the partizans of the Bishop of Durham, and yet the facts cannot be doubted, we have the archbishop himself reporting them.[3] Faith disappeared, or was transformed ; men became at once sceptical and intolerant. It is not at all the modern serenely cold and imperturbable scepticism, it is a violent movement of the whole nature which

[1] "In which year (1350) there came into England certain penitents, noblemen and foreigners, who beat their bare bodies very sharply, to the effusion of blood, now weeping, now singing ; yet, as was said, they did this too unadvisedly, being without licence from the apostolic see" (Walsingham, "Historia Anglicana," Rolls Series, vol. i. p. 275). Compare Robert de Avesbury, "Hist. Edwardi Tertii," ed. Hearne, Oxoni, 1720, p. 179. The flagellants whipped themselves with knotted cords furnished with nails, they prostrated themselves to the ground with their arms crossed, singing.

[2] The flagellant were condemned by Clement VI. in 1349 ; he ordered the archbishops, bishops, &c., to have them imprisoned (Labbe, "Sacrosancta Concilia," Florence ed., vol. xxv. col. 1153).

[3] Letter of the Archbishop of York to his official, "Historical Papers from the Northern Registers," ed. Raine, pp. 397–399. The guilty were not unimportant vagabonds ; one has the title of *magister*, another is professor of civil law.

feels itself impelled to burn what it adores; but the man is uncertain in his doubt, and his burst of laughter stuns him; he has passed as it were through an orgie, and when the white light of the morning comes he will have an attack of despair, profound anguish with tears, and perhaps a vow of pilgrimage and a conspicuous conversion. Walsingham sees one of the causes of the peasants' revolt in the incredulity of the barons: "Some among them believe, it is said, that there is no God, they deny the sacrament of the altar and resurrection after death, and consider that as is the end of the beast of burden, so is the end of man himself." [1]

But this incredulity was not definitive, and did not hinder superstitious practices. Men did not understand how to go straight forward; instead of opening the gates of heaven with their own hands, they imagined they could get it done by those of others; they had Paradise gained for them by the neighbouring monastery as they had their lands worked for them by their tenants; eternal welfare had become matter of commerce with the letters of fraternity of the mendicant friars and the lying indulgences of pardoners. Men lived at their ease, and quieted themselves by writing pious donations in their wills, as if they could, according to the words of a French writer of a later date, "corrupt and

[1] "Nam quidam illorum credebant, ut asseritur, nullum Deum esse, nihil esse sacramentum altaris, nullam post mortem resurrectionem, sed ut jumentum moritur, ita est hominem finire" ("Historia Anglicana," vol. ii. p. 12). Langland also complains of the scepticism of the nobles, who question the mysteries, and make these grave matters the subject of light conversation after meals. ("Piers Plowman," Text C, pass. xii. l. 35).

win over by gifts God and the saints, whom we ought to appease by good works and by the amendment of our sins."[1] Very instructive reading is that of the last acts and wills of the rich lords of the fourteenth century. Pages are filled with bequests made from motives of devotion; gifts are left to all the shrines, convents, chapels, and hermits, and testators go so far as to make pilgrimages after death by proxy, paying for them. The same Humphrey Bohun who sent "a good man and true" to the tomb of Thomas of Lancaster, also ordered that after his death a priest should be sent to Jerusalem, "chiefly," said he, "for my lady mother, and for my lord father, and for ourselves," with the obligation to say masses at all the chapels where he could along the journey.[2]

As to the Crusades, men were always talking of them, perhaps more than ever, only they did not make them. In the midst of their wars kings reproached one another with being the only hindrance to the departure of the Christians; there was always some useful incident which detained them. Philip of Valois and Edward III. protest that if it were not for their enemy they would go to fight the Saracen. "It is the fault of the English," writes Philip, that "the holy journey beyond sea has been hindered";[3] it is the doing of the King

[1] "Les louenges du roy Louys xij.," par Claude de Seyssel, Paris, 1508.

[2] "A Collection of the Wills of the Kings and Queens of England," &c., printed by J. Nichols, London, 1780. Will of Humphrey Bohun, Earl of Hereford and Essex, who died 1361, p. 54.

[3] Robert of Avesbury, "Historia Edwardi Tertii," ed. Hearne Oxford, 1720, p. 63.

of France, declares Edward III. on his side, in a solemn manifesto, which has turned him from the "sancto passagio transmarino."[1] No doubt the days of St. Louis had not so far gone by that the sense of this great duty, the war against the infidel, should be already lost, and men still thought that if it were something to set out for St. James or Notre Dame, yet the true road to heaven was that to Jerusalem. Meanwhile on this subject we see break forth some of those ideas which seem to be inspired by the practical views of modern times, and which began to spread in the fourteenth century. We crush the infidel, why not convert him? Is it not wiser, more reasonable, and even more conformable to the religion of Christ? Were the apostles whom He sent to us Gentiles covered with armour and provided with swords? Reflections like these were made, not merely by reformers such as Wyclif and Langland,[2] but by men of an habitually calm mind and great piety, such as Gower:

> "To sleen and fighten they us bidde
> Hem whom they shuld, as the boke saith,
> Converten unto Cristes feith.
> But herof have I great merveile
> How they wol bidde me traveile,

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[1] Robert of Avesbury, "Historia Edwardi Tertii," ed. Hearne, Oxford, 1720, p. 115.

[2] Langland speaks of the Saracens without cursing them; they might be saved, it was Mahomet who deceived them in anger at not being made pope; men ought to convert them; the pope makes indeed bishops of Nazareth, Nineveh, &c., but they take care never to visit their undocile flocks ("Piers Plowman," Text C, ed. Skeat, pass. xviii. pp. 314–318).

A Sarazin if I slee shall,
I slee the soule forth withall,
And that was never Cristes lore."[1]

It was found convenient, however, to talk of Crusades, and some still believed that they would be made. For this Elizabeth de Burgh, Lady Clare, desired that five men-at-arms should fight in her name in case there should be a "common voyage" within seven years following her death.[2] The merit of their works would be attributed to her, and they would receive a money compensation amounting to 100 marks each. But the common voyage remained a project for ever, and the only expeditions set on foot were private enterprises.[3]

In this case religious enthusiasm was not the only lever; the chivalric and stirring instincts which filled this age of combats caused half the devotion which urged these little troops to start. A good number of them came from England; the English were already, and even before that time, great travellers, as they are now. They were to be met with everywhere, and also, as now, their knowledge of French served them in some degree in every country on the Continent. It was the language of the upper classes, as Mandeville reminds us,[4] it was also that which was spoken in the East by

[1] "Confessio Amantis," Pauli's edition, vol. ii. p. 58.

[2] She died November 4, 1360, Nichols' "Wills of Kings and Queens," &c., 1780, p. 29.

[3] The last effective Crusade ended in 1272, with the return of Prince Edward (Edward I.) to take the crown on his father's death. These holy wars had covered a period of nearly two hundred years. [L. T. S.]

[4] He says (in French): "And know that I would have put this little book into Latin for brevity, but because many understand

the European, the Frank. Trevisa, declaring that the English were forgetting that language, deplores it; how will they do if they go abroad? "That is harme for hem and they schulle passe the see and trauaille in straunge landes and in many other places."[1] However, if the English no longer knew French fluently, they took heed of the utility of the language, and they tried to acquire some notions of it before setting out on their travels. They employed competent persons to compose manuals of conversation to teach them how "to speak, to pronounce well, and to write correctly sweet French, which is the finest and most graceful language, the noblest to speak of any in the world after Latin of the schools, and is better prized and loved than any other by all men; for God made it so sweet and lovable chiefly to His own praise and honour. And therefore it may well compare with the language of the angels in heaven, on account of its great sweetness and beauty." So wrote an Englishman in the fourteenth century.[2]

The English went much abroad; every author who draws their portrait describes their taste for moving about at home, and their love of distant travel; the

Romance better than Latin, I have put it into Romance that it be understood, and that the lords and knights and other noblemen who do not know Latin, or but little, and who have been beyond seas, may know and understand whether I speak truth or not." Sloane MS. 1464, fol. 3, at the British Museum (French MS. of the beginning of fifteenth century).

[1] In his translation of Ralph Higden's "Polychronicon," ed. C. Babington, vol. ii. p. 161 (Rolls Series).

[2] "La Manière de Langage," &c., a text published by Prof. Paul Meyer in the "Revue Critique," vol x. (1870) pp. 373, 382. The dedication is dated May 29, 1396.

moon is the planet assigned them on this account. According to Gower, it is owing to her that they visit so many countries afar off:

> "What man under his [*i.e.*, the moon's] powere
> Is bore, he shall his place chaunge
> And seche many londes straunge;
> And as of this condicion
> The mones disposicion
> Upon the londe of Alemaigne
> Is set, and eke upon Britaigne,
> Which now is cleped Engelonde,
> For they travaile in every londe." [1]

Wyclif places them under the patronage of the same planet, but draws different consequences from it; [2] and Ralph Higden the chronicler expresses himself in these terms, which seem prophetic, they have proved so exact: "That people are curious enough that they may know and tell the wonders that they have seen; they cultivate other regions, and succeed still better in distant countries than in their own, . . . wherefore it is that they are spread so wide through the earth, considering every other land that they inhabit as their own country.

[1] "Confessio Amantis," vol iii. p. 109 (Pauli's edition).

[2] He says the English are wanting in perseverance, "Et hinc secundum astronomos lunam habent planetam propriam, quæ in motu et lumine est magis instabilis" ("Fasciculi Zizaniorum," edited by Dr. Shirley, p. 270, Rolls Series). Caxton at the point of the Renaissance also considers the moon as *par excellence* the planet of the English: "For we englysshe men ben borne vnder the domynacyon of the mone, whiche is neuer stedfaste but euer wauerynge" (Prologue to his "Boke of Eneydos compyled by Vyrgyle," 1490).

They are a race able for every industry." He says also that the English of his time love the pleasures of the table more than any other people, and spend much on food and on clothing.[1] But the important point here is this taste for travelling which was so marked. A number of them were established in Italy, where they had become *condottiere*, and they went up and down the peninsula according to the will of whomsoever paid them. Such were John Hawkwood, whose tomb still adorns the cathedral at Florence, William Gold, and several others. Fierce people they were, with ardent passions, ready sometimes, in the good old manner, to do and sacrifice as much to recover a fugitive girl as to take a town. One letter of William Gold will be enough to give an idea of the sort of men they were, and of the life led by these bellicose wanderers. It is sent to Louis of Gonzaga, lord of Mantua, on August 9, 1378, and concerns the girl Jeannette, of France:

". . . Let her be detained at my suit," says Gold, "for if you should have a thousand golden florins spent for her, I will pay them without delay; for if I should have to follow her to Avignon I will obtain this woman. Now, my lord, should I be asking a trifle contrary to law, yet ought you not to cross me in this, for some day I shall do more for you than a thousand united French women could effect; and if there be need of me in a matter of greater import, you shall have for the asking a thousand spears at my back. Therefore, in conclusion, again and again I entreat that this Janet

[1] "Polychronicon Ranulphi Higden," edited by C. Babington, 1869, vol. ii. pp. 166, 168, Rolls Series.

may be put in a safe place unknown to anybody, and there kept until I send some servant of mine for her with a letter from myself, for I would do more for you in greater matters. And I pray you, thwart me not about putting her in a safe place, for you alone, and no one else are lord in Mantua.

"*The Camp under Verona, August* 9, 1378.

"P.S.—I beseech by all means that [the] said Janet may not quit Mantua, but be in safe custody, and so you will have obliged me for ever."

No less determined as a warrior than as a lover, and accustomed, as it seems, in both cases, to put people to flight, William Gold was made a citizen of Venice in recognition for his services on April 27, 1380, and in July of the same year received from the Doge Andrea Contarini a pension of 500 gold ducats for life.[1]

With a rather different bent of mind, though not averse either to adventures, other little troops left England, beginning their long journey owards the Holy Land. They did not usually start on so distant an expedition without being furnished with letters from their sovereign, which might serve both as passport and as recommendation in case of need. The tenor of these documents was nearly alike and similar to that of the following letter granted by Edward III. in 1354: "Know all men that the noble Jean le Meingre,[2] knight,

[1] Rawdon Brown, "Calendar of State Papers relating to English Affairs . . . at Venice," London, 1864, vol. i. pp. 24, 29; original in Latin.

[2] Marshal of France. Rymer calls him "Johannes Meyngre, dictus Bussigand." As to Boucicaut and his son, also a marshal of France, see Delaville le Roulx, "La France en Orient, au XIV^e. Siècle," Paris, 1886, vol. i. pp. 160–162.

called Boucicaut, our prisoner, is about to set forth, with our permission, with twelve knights to St. James, and thence to march against the enemies of Christ in the Holy Land ; and that we have taken him and his twelve companions, their servants and horses, &c., under our protection and safe conduct in their going and coming through our dominions." [1]

Such travellers were well received by the King of Cyprus, and assisted him in his numerous difficulties. The king showed himself pleased with these visits, and sometimes expressed his gladness in letters through which a lively satisfaction appears. Thus, in 1393, he writes from Nicosia to Richard II., and tells him that a knight has no need of a personal recommendation to him to be welcome in the island ; all the subjects of the King of England are his friends ; he is happy to have Henry Percy, who will be very useful to him.[2] In the same manner the troop of French pilgrims, to which belonged the lord of Anglure, was welcomed in Cyprus,

[1] Rymer's "Fœdera," vol. v. p. 777. These letters must have been given pretty frequently, for we find that they were drawn up after a common form like our passports. (See that given by Rymer in vol. vii. p. 337, A.D. 1381.) In November, 1392, the Earl of Derby (the future Henry IV.) was at Venice, and set out thence to go to the Holy Land. He had letters for the Republic from Albert IV., Duke of Austria, and the Great Council lent him a galley for his voyage. Thomas Mowbray, Duke of Norfolk, also set out from Venice for Palestine, in February, 1398–99. He had presented himself to the Venetian Senate, furnished with a letter from Richard II. ("Calendar of State Papers relating to English Affairs . . . at Venice," &c., ed. Rawdon Brown, 1864, p. lxxxi, Rolls Series).

[2] "Historical Papers from the Northern Registers," ed. Raine, p. 425.

in 1396. They reached Cyprus on their way home, after a fearful storm, in which their lives were greatly imperilled. As soon as the king heard of their having landed he sent to them provisions in plenty: a hundred poultry, twenty sheep, two oxen, much good wine and good white bread. Then he asked them to his Court, and when they came called the queen and his children to help him in receiving them, and being himself a great huntsman, he begged them to go to the hunt with him, a pleasant offer after so many trials, and not one to be refused.

With the notion of the pilgrimage was largely associated that of the adventures which were to be had at the various places and along the road; they were even sought, if necessary, and then the religious object disappeared in the crowd of profane incidents. Thus, in 1402, De Werchin, Seneschal of Hainault, announced his project of a pilgrimage to St. James of Spain, and his intention to accept the friendly combat of arms with any knight for whom he should not have to turn from his road more than twenty leagues. He announced his itinerary beforehand, so that, being warned, any one might make ready.[1]

The famous John of Mandeville set out for the East in the first half of the fourteenth century with somewhat similar ideas.[2] This amusing writer went to Palestine,

[1] "Chronique de Monstrelet," lib. i. chap. viii.

[2] The voyages called "Mandeville's Voiage and Travaile" were assuredly written in the fourteenth century in French, then were translated into Latin and English. Only the portion relating to Egypt, Palestine, and Syria seems to have been founded on a real journey. The article "Mandeville," by Mr. E. B. Nicholson and Colonel Yule in "The Encyclopædia Britannica" (9th edition), and

partly to sanctify himself, partly to know the world and its wonders, and to be able to speak of them; for many persons, says he, are much pleased with hearing the marvels of different countries described. The reason he publishes his impressions is, first, because numbers of people like stories of the Holy Land, and find great consolation and comfort in them; and, secondly, to make a guide, in order that the small companies or caravans like his own and that of Boucicaut may profit by his experience. True, he does not bring the precision of modern books to his work, but his ideas as to the road to be followed cannot be thought very unreasonable. Thus, "to go the direct way" from England to Palestine, he advises the following itinerary: France, Burgundy, Lombardy, Venice, Famagusta in Cyprus, Jaffa, Jerusalem. Very often people went to Jerusalem by way of Egypt. It was a tradition of long standing that the greater part of the difficulties concerning the Holy Land had their root in Egypt; many tombs of saints also attracted the pilgrims there, so that crusaders, or mere pilgrims, often took that road to Jerusalem. Mandeville himself followed this itinerary. In 1422 Gilbert of Lannoy wrote, "at the behest of King Henry of England, heir and Regent of France" (that is, Henry V.), a descrip-

a paper, "Untersuchungen über Johann von Mandeville und die Quelle seiner Reiseschreibung," Berlin, 1888 (printed in "Zeitschrift der Gesellschaft für Erdkunde," bd. xxiii. p. 177), represent the present state of the question. Dr. J. Vogels, of Crefeld, and Mr. Warner, of the British Museum, Mr. E. B. Nicholson, superintendent of the Bodleian, and the French Société des Anciens Textes, are about to publish critical editions, with the results of the latest researches.

tion of the places through which a crusade might be led against the infidels, for this prince, like his predecessors, continued dreaming of a crusade. Lannoy gives a detailed account of each town, stating what sorts of provisions in wood, water, &c., may be found in each country, in what plains an army can be easily arrayed, in what ports a fleet shall be safe. He gives the greatest attention to Egypt, and describes its several towns: "Item. There is Cairo, the chief town of Egypt, on the river Nile which comes from Paradise."[1] But the Crusade, in anticipation of which he wrote, never took place, and the next military expedition which should reach Syria through Egypt was destined to be that of Bonaparte in 1798.

Besides the history of a journey to Egypt and Palestine, which he seems really to have accomplished, Mandeville gives the description of a number of countries peopled by imaginary monsters. This fantastic part of his work did not diminish its success, quite the contrary; but we, less confiding than our fathers, do not now willingly accept the recital of so many prodigies, and we even consider the excuse which he gives us insufficient to guarantee the author's good faith. "Things that are long past away from sight fall into oblivion, and the memory of man cannot retain and comprehend everything."[2]

Many books came after his, still more detailed and practical. While the renewal of the Crusades appeared less and less probable, the number of individual

[1] "A Survey of Egypt and Syria . . . from a MS. in the Bodleian Library," Archæologia, vol. xxi. pp. 281, 319.

[2] Sloane MS. 1464, fo. 3, British Museum.

pilgrimages was on the increase. The word of the priest which could no longer pluck up entire nations from the soil, only detached here and there little groups of pious men or seekers after adventure, who went to visit the holy places under favour of the tolerant spirit of the Saracen. The greater number, indeed, no longer set out to fight the infidel, but to ask his permission to see Jerusalem, which was readily granted. We find, from the fourteenth century onwards, quite a service of transports at Venice, organized for the use of the pilgrims: "It is the rule," says a traveller of the fourteenth century, "that the Venetians send every year five galleys to the Holy Land. They all reach Beyruth, which is the port for Damascus in Syria; thence two of them bring the pilgrims to Jaffa, which is the port for Jerusalem."[1] Many particulars about this service of transports, and the purchases to make before starting, and the provisions to take, are to be found in a book written in the following century by William Wey, Fellow of Eton College. He recommended that the price of the passage be carefully settled before starting, and that a bed with its pillows, sheets, &c., be provided. This was bought near the church of St. Mark, and the whole cost three ducats, including the sheets and blankets. After the journey the vendor took back these things for a ducat and a half; "Also when ye com to Venyse ye schal by a bedde by seynt Markys cherche; ye schal have a fedyr bedde, a matres, too pylwys, too peyre schetis

[1] "Le Saint Voyage de Jhérusalem du Seigneur d'Anglure," ed. Bonnardot and Longnon, Société des Anciens Textes Français, Paris, 1878, p. 99.

and a qwylt, and ye schal pay iij dokettis ; and when ye com ayen, bryng the same bedde to the man that ye bowt hit of and ye schal have a doket and halfe ayen, thow hyt be broke and worne." [1] Such settled customs and fixed prices show better than anything else the frequency of the intercourse.

William Wey has all the conveniences for the traveller to which we are accustomed in the present day ; he composes mnemonics of names to learn, a vocabulary of Greek words which it is important to know, and he gives for learning by heart the same ready-made questions which our manuals still repeat in a less mixed language :

" Good morrow.	*Calomare.*
Welcome.	*Calosertys.*
Tel me the way.	*Dixiximo strata.*
Gyff me that.	*Doys me tutt.*
Woman haue ye goyd wyne?	*Geneca esse calocrasse?*
Howe moche?	*Posso?* "

He also sets down a table of the exchange of the different moneys from England to Greece and Syria ; and a programme for the employment of time, as now very parsimoniously dealt with ; he only allows thirteen days to see everything and start back again. Lastly, he gives a complete list of the towns to be passed through, with the distance from one to the

[1] " The Itineraries of William Wey, Fellow of Eton College, to Jerusalem, A.D. 1458 and A.D. 1462, and to Saint James of Compostella, A.D. 1456." London 1857, Roxburghe Club, pp. 5, 6. In his first journey Wey started from Venice with a band of 197 pilgrims who were embarked on two galleys.

other, a map of the Holy Land with an indication of all the remarkable places,[1] and a considerable catalogue of the indulgences to be gained.

Wey foresaw all the disagreeables to which the ill will of the captain of the galley might subject you; he recommends engaging a place in the highest part of the boat, "for in the lawyst [stage] vnder hyt is ryght smolderyng hote and stynkynge;"[2] you must not pay more than forty ducats from Venice to Jaffa, food included; it is necessary to stipulate that the captain stops at certain ports to take in fresh provisions. He is bound to give you hot meat at dinner and supper, good wine, pure water, and biscuit; but it is well besides to take provisions for private use, for even at the captain's table there is great risk of having bad bread and wine. "For thow ye schal be at the tabyl wyth yowre patrone, notwythstondynge, ye schal oft tyme haue nede to yowre vytelys, bred, chese, eggys, frute, and bakyn, wyne, and other, to make yowre collasyvn; for svm tyme ye schal haue febyl bred, wyne and stynkyng water, meny tymes ye schal be ful

[1] Pages 102–116. Such a map is exhibited in the glass cases of the Bodleian Library at Oxford. It is probable, but not quite sure, that this is really the map of William Wey, the one he calls "mappa mea" in his book. It has been reproduced in *fac-simile*: "Map of the Holy Land, illustrating the Itineraries of W. Wey, Roxburghe Club, 1867." It is seven feet in length and sixteen and a half inches in breadth. See also: "De passagiis in Terram Sanctam," edit. G. M. Thomas, Venice, 1879, folio. (Société de l'Orient Latin). This work contains extracts from a "Chronologia magna," compiled in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, with maps and plans, one especially of Jerusalem and adjoining places.

[2] "A good preuysyoun," "Itineraries," p. 4.

fayne to ete of yowre owne." It would even be prudent to take some poultry: "Also by yow a cage for half a dozen of hennys or chekyn to have with yow in the galey;" half a bushel of seed to feed them must not be forgotten.[1] You must also have remedies, "confortatyuys, laxatyuys, restoratyuys," saffron, pepper, spices. On arrival at a port it is well to leap ashore one of the first, in order to get served before others, and not to have the leavings; this counsel of practical selfishness often recurs. On land heed must be taken as to the fruits: "beware of dyuerse frutys, for they be not acordyng to youre complexioun, and they gender a blody fluxe, and yf an Englyschman haue that sykenes hyt ys a maruel and scape hyt but he dye thereof." Once in Palestine, attention must be given to the robbers; if you don't think of it the Saracens will come and talk familiarly with you, and, under favour of conversation, will rob you; "Also take goyd hede of yowre knyves and other smal thynges that ye ber apon yow, for the Sarsenes wyl go talkyng wyth yow and make goyd chere, but they wyl stele fro yow that ye haue and they may." At Jaffa you must not forget to get first, in order to have the best donkey, "Also when ye schal take yowre asse at port Jaffe, be not to longe behynde yowre felowys; for and ye com by tyme ye may chese the beste mule, other asse, for ye schal pay no more fore the best then for the worst. And ye must yeve youre asman curtesy a grot."[2] This last recommendation shows the high

[1] "A good preuysyoun," "Itineraries," pp. 5, 6.

[2] Ibid. The same scramble for asses is going on even now in Palestine and Egypt.

antiquity of "pourboires," one of the best preserved of mediæval traditions. At last the caravan leaves the seaside and proceeds towards the Holy City; and then it is prudent not to straggle too far from your companions for fear of evildoers.

Well worthy of notice is the fact that these visits to the Holy Land were in great part performed on donkeys; knights themselves did not disdain mounting these modest animals: "At this said inn did we dismount our asses," says the narrator of the travels of the lord of Anglure, who visited Jerusalem at the end of the fourteenth century. This is enough to show that if there was, as there still is, some danger of robbers, it was not very serious. If there had been any chance of real fight the knights would hardly have ventured getting into it on donkey-back. In fact, many of those reports of travels in the Holy Land give the impression of mere tourists' excursions, and what comes out most clearly from them is the spirit of tolerance displayed by the Saracen. He did not forbid the entry into Palestine of all these pilgrims, who often came as spies and enemies, and he let their troops do very much as they liked. We see that the companions of the lord of Anglure, and half a century later of William Wey, go where they will; returning when it is convenient, and making plans of excursions beforehand as they would do at present. They admire the beauty of the "muscas" or mosques, the quaint appearance of the vaulted streets with light coming from apertures at the top of the vault, and with shops for Saracen merchants on both sides, in other words, the bazaar; they are led by and receive explanations from their "drugemens";

at certain places they meet officers entrusted with the permit of the "Soudan," as to all affairs concerning foreigners. These officers are called "consulles." They find European merchants established and doing much trade in the port of the infidel; they have, in fact, nothing to fear seriously but the local wars, about which they were pretty sure to get timely information, and calamitous encounters at sea. William Wey and his companions learn with much uneasiness on their return that a Turkish fleet with dubious purpose is ready to quit Constantinople, but happily they do not meet it.

It is interesting to compare the experiences of both troops of pilgrims, the French and the English; very often they are similar. The lord of Anglure got into Jerusalem very easily, and with the proper authorization: "Shortly after, we started thence on foot, and with the license of the lieutenant of the Sultan we entered the holy city of Jerusalem at the hour of vespers, and were all received and lodged in the hospital where it is customary now for pilgrims to stay." They travel by land without much difficulty from Palestine to Egypt, and go down the Nile, a large river, where "live several serpents called cokatrices," otherwise crocodiles; which river "comes from Paradise." There only they have a rather narrow escape, being attacked in their boat by "Arab robbers," and some of their troop are wounded with arrows, but none is killed. They were at that time returning from a visit to the hermitage where "St. Anthony and his little pig" had lived.

It is needless to say that, if Rome was full of relics, there was no want of them in Jerusalem. All the places named in the Gospel seem to have been identified

with precision, and a few others too : " Item, continuing to go up towards this mountain on the right hand side, there is a house where the sweet Virgin Mary learnt at school." You may see, too, the place where was roasted the paschal lamb ; " even here was warmed the water with which our Lord washed the feet of His apostles." There is also a cave or well " where King Herod had the Innocents thrown, out of spite." At Bethlehem there is a church of St. Nicholas, " in which place the sweet Virgin Mary hid herself to draw her milk from her worthy breasts when she would fly to Egypt. In this same church there is a marble column against which she leaned when she drew her worthy milk, and this pillar continues moist since the time she leaned against it, and when it is wiped, at once it sweats again ; and in all places where her worthy milk fell, the earth is still soft and white and has the appearance of curded milk, and whoever likes takes of it, out of devotion."

In Egypt, too, the wonders are numerous, but many are of a different order. Besides the churches and hermitages there are the " granaries of Pharaoh," that is the pyramids, which seem to the lord of Anglure and his companions " the most marvellous thing they had yet seen in all their travels." They are cut " in the shape of a fine diamond," but inside they are full of animals, who stink horribly. Mandeville, who had seen them some years before, gives them the same origin, and utterly discards the belief that they might have been tombs of high personages. He mentions the hieroglyphics, which is about the only thing in all his book he does not try to explain ; he has also a word

for the grim inhabitants of the pyramids: "Thei ben alle fulle of serpentes. And aboven the gernerers with outen ben many scriptures of dyuerse languages. And sum men seyn that they ben sepultures of grete Lordes, that weren somtyme; but that is not trewe; for all the comoun rymour and speche is of alle the peple there, bothe far and nere, that thei ben the garneres of Joseph. And so fynden thei in here scriptures and in here cronycles. On that other partie, yif thei werein sepultures, thei scholden not ben voyd with inne. For yee may well knowe that tombes and sepultures ne ben not made of suche gretnesse ne of suche highnesse. Wherfore it is not to beleve that thei ben tombes or sepultures."[1] Strange it is but yet a fact, that this powerful mode of reasoning has not convinced such sceptics as Mariette and Maspéro.

Besides the pyramids, the companions of the Lord of Anglure notice and greatly praise the houses with their terraces, the mosques and their "fine lamps," and it is curious to observe that these same fine lamps, admired in 1396 when they were fresh and new by our pilgrims, can be seen now without going so far, for they are in the South Kensington Museum. The Egyptian animals, too, are noted by our travellers as being very striking; besides the crocodiles there are the tall-necked giraffes, and then the elephants. A very strange beast an elephant: "It could never bend to the ground to get its food on account of its great height, but it has in its snout something like a bowel, put at the further end

[1] "Voiage and Travaile of Sir John Maundeville," ed. Halliwell, 1866, p. 52.

of its snout," and this bowel "hangs down almost to the ground," and with it the beast "takes its food and carries it to its mouth."

At last the time came when our pilgrims had seen everything, and they had to bend their way homewards. Twice did William Wey undertake the great journey, happy to have seen, fain to see again. When he came back to England for the last time he bequeathed to a chapel, built on the model of the Holy Sepulchre, the souvenirs which he had brought back, that is to say, a stone from Calvary, another from the Sepulchre itself, one from Mount Tabor, one from the place where the cross stood, and other relics. As for the French troop of pilgrims who had left Anglure-sur-Aube on July 16, 1395, they came back in the following year, complete in their numbers but for Simon de Sarrebruck, who had died of fever in Cyprus during the journey home, and lies interred in a church there. "And on Thursday, the twenty-second day of June, and the day before the eve of the feast of St. John the Baptist, in the year of grace of our Lord, 1396, we found ourselves again dining in Anglure."

A BLIND BEGGAR CHEATED OF HIS DRINK BY HIS BOY.
(*From the MS.* 10 *E. IV.*)

CONCLUSION.

WE have followed the race of roamers in many places : on the road, at the hostelry, in taverns, in churches ; we have seen them exercising a host of different trades, and we have distinguished among them very different specimens : singers, buffoons, cheap-jacks, messengers, pedlars, pilgrims, wandering preachers, beggars, friars, vagabonds of several kinds, labourers detached from the soil, pardoners, knights loving distant expeditions. We have accompanied them here and there over the high-roads of England, and we have followed them to Rome itself, and to the Holy Land; there we shall leave them. To the wandering class also belong the representatives of many other professions, such as scribes, tinkers, cobblers, masons, exhibitors of animals or bearwards, such as those whom Villard de Honnecourt visited one day in order to draw a lion "al vif," from the life.

But the only important members are those which have just been studied.

The current of life represented by the existence of all these roamers is powerful; we have seen what a great though not very apparent part they played in the State. The labourer breaks the bonds which for centuries have attached him to the manor, and henceforward desires to be master of his own person and of his service, to hire himself by the day if it seems good to him, and for a price which corresponds to the demand there is for him. It is a necessary reform which he seeks, and it will be made by degrees, in spite of laws, independently of the authorities. There is none more important, and it is upon the roads rather than at the castle that it behoves us to study it. We must seek the origin of it among the brushwood, where armed bands meet together during church service, and on those straggling roads where the false pilgrim throws his pretended staff aside to take up his tools and look for work far from his old master. These people recommend by their example the emancipation which the wandering preachers explain in their discourses, making it an immediate and popular need.

The great questions of the age, the social and the religious questions, march towards their solution, partly on the highroad, partly by the influence of the wanderers. The begging friars go from door to door, the pardoners grow rich, the pilgrims live by alms and by the recital of their adventures, always on the road, always at work. What is this work? By constantly addressing the crowd, they end by making themselves known for what they are; by making the crowd of its

own accord pass sentence upon them, by disabusing it, they render reform inevitable. Thus on this side also the rust of the Middle Ages will drop away, and another step be made towards modern civilization.

Besides, each of these strange types deserves to be taken apart and considered not only in relation to the masses, but in itself too; for each shows very apparently in his own person a characteristic side of the tastes, the beliefs, and the aspirations of the times. Each of their classes corresponds to a need, an eccentricity, or a vice of the times; through them we may examine, as it were, one by one the souls of the people and reconstitute them entirely; just as the nature of the soil may be guessed from the flora of a country.

The general impression is that the English people then underwent one of those considerable transformations which present themselves to the view of the historian like the turning of a highroad. Coming out from gorges and mountains the road suddenly changes its direction, and the rich, sunny, fertile plain is perceived in the distance. We have not yet reached it, many troubles are still reserved for us; it will disappear again from our sight at times, but we have seen it, and the result of our efforts is that we know at least in what direction to march in order to attain it. During the age which is opening the emancipated peasant will enrich himself in spite of the wars made by the barons; and the Commons will have an instrument of control over the royal power in their hands, which they may use, according to the period, more or less well, but which is the best invented up till our time. The Parliament which sits at Westminster at the present day is

in its essential elements identical with the Parliament which prepared the statutes of the kingdom under the last Plantagenet princes. In the fourteenth century, whatever some thinkers, too much affected by the glory of Simon de Montfort and of St. Louis, may have said, humanity was not stopped on its way. There needs no other proof of this than the host of truly modern ideas which were spread throughout society; among the upper class under the influence of a higher education and larger intercourse with foreign countries; among the lower class through the effects of long experience of common abuses; ideas made popular and rendered practical by the nomades—ignorant workmen, single-hearted preachers. All those unreasonable freaks, all the madnesses of the religious spirit, those incessant revolts and follies which have been remarked, would make men discontented with false and dangerous thoughts and sentiments, which it was necessary to push to an extreme in order to become unbearable and be rejected.

On a number of similar points, whether he were the partizan or the object of reform, as working man or as pardoner, whether he were an unconscious instrument or not, the wanderer will always have much to teach whoever will question him. For good or evil it may be said that the wanderers acted as "microbes" in mediæval history, a numerous, scarcely visible, powerful host. They will perhaps tell the secret of almost incomprehensible transformations, which might have seemed to necessitate a total overturn, like that which took place in France at the end of the last century, a new or rather a first *contrat social*. England, for many reasons, has not required this; one among those reasons

is the influence of the roamers which united the people and allowed it, thanks to that union which rendered it strong, to snatch the necessary concessions at a fitting season. And notwithstanding, as the calmest changes do not take place without some trouble, as also among the English there have been, in the course of centuries, more than one bloody fray, the nomad may perhaps end by answering his interlocutor in the words of a common proverb of some unhackneyed wisdom, which should hinder discouragement: "Le bois tortu fait le feu droit" —Crooked log maketh straight fire.

APPENDIX.

APPENDIX.

I. (p. 50).

Patent of King John entrusting a Frenchman with the completion of London Bridge (1201).

"Literæ patentes etc. de edificatione et sustentatione pontis London. Patent Roll 3° Iohannis, m. 2, no. 9.

"Iohannes Dei gratia rex Angliæ etc. dilectis et fidelibus suis majori et civibus London' salutem. Attendentes qualiter circa pontem Xanton' et pontem de Rupella Deus a modico tempore sit operatus per sollicitudinem fidelis clerici nostri Isenberti, magistri scolarum Xanton', viri utique literati et honesti, ipsum de consilio venerabilis patris in Christo H. Archiepiscopi Cantuar' et aliorum, rogavimus et monuimus et etiam coegimus ut pro vestra et multorum utilitate, de ponte vestro faciendo curam habeat diligentem. Confidimus enim in Domino, quod idem pons tam necessarius vobis et omnibus transeuntibus, ut scitis, per ejus industriam, faciente Domino, poterit in proximo consummari. Et ideo volumus et concedimus quod salvo jure nostro et conservata indempnitate civitatis London', census edificiorum quæ super pontem prædictum idem magister scolarum faciet fieri sint imperpetuum ad eundem pontem reficiendum et operiendum et sustentandum. Quia igitur idem pons tam necessarius sine vestro et aliorum auxilio perfici non poterit, mandamus vobis, exhortantes quatinus memoratum

Isenbertum et suos pro vestra utilitate pariter et honore sicut decreverit benigne recipiatis et honoretis in hiis quæ dicta sunt, consilium et auxilium vestrum eidem unanimiter impendentes. Quicquid enim boni et honoris eidem Isenberto feceritis, nobis factum reputare debetis. Si quis vero eidem Isenberto vel suis in aliquo foris faciat, quod non credimus, vos illud eisdem faciatis, quam citius ad vos pertinet emendari. Teste meipso, apud Molmell, xviii. die Aprilis."

Hearne, at the end of "Liber niger scaccarii," London, 1771, vol. i. p. 470.

II. (p. 57).

Petition relative to an old bridge, whose arches were too low and too narrow to permit boats to pass.

"Unto the ryght wise and discrete comons of this present Parlement; besecheth mekely the comons off the countees of York, Lincoln, Notyngham, and Derby; That whereas ther is, and of longe tyme hath been, an usuall and a commune passage fro dyvers and many parties of the seid countees unto the citees of York, Hull, Hedon, Holdernes, Beverley, Barton, and Grymesby, and so forth, by the hie see, by the costes, unto London and elles where, with all maner of shippes charged with wolle, leed, stone, tymbre, vitaille, fewaille, and many other marchandises, by a streme called the Dike, in the counte of York, that daiely ebbith and floweth: over whiche streem ys made a brigge of tymbre called Turnbrigg, in the parisshe of Snayth in the same counte, so lowe, so ner the streem, so narrowe and so strayte in the archees, that ther is, and of long tyme hath been a right perilous passage, and ofte tymes perishinge of dyvers shippes; and atte every tyme of creteyne[1] and abundaunce of water, ther may no shippes passe under the

[1] *Creteyne*, increase, rising flood; in French, *crue*.

seid brigge, by the space of half a yere or more, and also a grete partie of the countees to the seid ryver ajonyng, is yerely by the space of xx^ti myles and more surrownded, by cause of the lowenes and straitenes of the said brigge, to the grete hurt and damage as well to the kyng in his customes and subsidys, that shuld growe to him of the seid marchaundises, chargeable with suche diverse, as to the seid shires, countres, cites and burghes, and the inhabitants of theim. . . .

"Please hit unto your right wise discretions, consideryng the premisses, to pray and beseche the kyng our soverayn lord to graunte . . . that hit shall be lefulle to what sum ever person or persons of the seid shires, that will atte theire owne costages take away the seid brigge, and ther with and profites therof, and in othir wise, newe edifie and bilde anothir brigge there, lengere in lengthe by the quantite of v. yerdes called the kynges standard, and in hieght a yerd and a half by the same yerd hiegher then the seid brigge that stondes ther nowe, as well for passage of all maner shippes comyng therto, and voidaunce of water under the seid brigg as for passage of man, best and carriage over the seid newe brigge so to be made, with a draght lef contenyng the space of iiij fete called Paules fete in brede, for the voidying thorugh of the mastes of the shippes passinge under the seid new brigg; and that every shipmen that wol passe under the seid brigge with their shippes, may laufully lifte up and close the seid lef att their pleser; and that the mayster of every shippe paie for every liftyng of the seid lef id. to the lord of the soille for the tyme beyng . . . for the lofe of Godd and in waye of charite. . . .

"*Responsio.* Le roy de l'advys et assent de lez seignurs espirituelx et temporalx et lez communes esteantz en cest present parlement, ad graunté tout le contenue en icell petition en toutz pointz."

"Rolls of Parliament," vol. v. p. 43; 20 Henry VI., A.D. 1442.

III. (p. 64).

London Bridge and its maintenance.

At the end of his edition of the "Liber niger scaccarii," London, 1771, vol. i. pp. 470–478, the antiquary Hearne printed a series of curious Letters Patent relating to London Bridge. That of John, commending Isembert to the city, is given before (Appendix I.). There follow, an order of John devoting the tax paid by foreign merchants established in London to the support of the bridge (Close Roll, 15 John m. 3); a patent of Henry III. addressed "to the brothers and chaplains of the chapel of St. Thomas on London Bridge, and to the other persons living on the same bridge," to inform them that the convent of St. Catherine's Hospital, near the Tower, would receive the revenues and would take charge of the repairs of the bridge for five years (Patent 50 Hen. III. m. 43, No. 129); grant of the same revenues and charge to the queen for six years (54 Hen. III. m. 4, No. 11); patent of Edward I. (January, 1281), ordering a general collection throughout the kingdom to ward off the bad condition of the edifice (9 Ed. I. m. 27); patent of the same king ordering the levy of an extraordinary tax on account of the catastrophe which has happened.

"Rex majori suo London' salutem. Propter subitam ruinam pontis London' vobis mandamus quod associatis vobis duobus vel tribus de discretioribus et legalioribus civibus civitatis prædictæ, capiatis usque ad parliamentum nostrum post Pasch' prox' futur', in subsidium reparationis pontis predicti, consuetudinem subscriptam, videlicet, de quolibet homine transeunte aquam Thamisiæ ex transverso ex utraque parte pontis London' de London' usque Suthwerk et de Suthwerk usque London' occasione defectus reparationis pontis predicti unum quadrantem, de quolibet equo sic transeunte ibidem unum denarium, et de quolibet summagio sic ibidem transeunte unum obolum. Set volumus quod aliquid ibidem hac occa-

sione interim capiatur nisi in subsidium reparationis pontis supra dicti. In cujus, etc. Teste rege apud Cirencestr', iiij° die Februarij" (10 E. I. m. 18).

The same year, on 6th July, the king prolonged the term during which this exceptional tax should be levied to three years (ib. m. 9); he also granted a license (for "non est ad dampnum nostrum") to the mayor and commonalty of London to devote three pieces of ground in the city to building and renting out, for the benefit of the bridge (10 Ed. I. m. 11). Then, in the thirty-fourth year of his reign, Edward I. established a detailed tariff of the tolls which all merchandise passing under or over the bridge should pay during the next three years (34 Ed. I. m. 25). Even this was not enough, as we find Edward II. addressing the authorities of the Church throughout the kingdom, enjoining them to permit messengers to collect funds towards repairing the bridge within their jurisdictions (14 Ed. II. pt. i. m. 19).

IV. (p. 67).

Inquiries relating to the maintenance of bridges.

A great many examples of these inquests may be found in the collection published by the Record Commission, "Placitorum in domo capitulari Westmonasteriensi asservatorum abbreviatio" (London, 1811, fol.). Here are a few of them:

Case where an abbot is obliged explicitly, as one of the conditions of his tenure, to repair a bridge, p. 205 (11 and 12 Ed. I.).

Agreement between the abbot of Croyland and the prior of Spalding for the construction of several bridges, p. 205 (12 Ed. I.).

Discussion as to the building of a bridge at Chester, p. 209 (13 Ed. I.).

Refusal by the abbot of Coggeshall to repair a bridge: "Per juratores, Abbas de Coggeshale non tenetur reparare pontem de Stratford inter Branketre et Coggeshale, eo quod de tempore memorie non fuit ibidem alius pons quam quedam planchea de borde super quam omnes transeuntes salvo et secure transire potuerunt," p. 303 (1 Ed. II.).

Measures taken to constrain the inhabitants of two towns to repair the bridges of a highway in their neighbourhood: "Distringantur villate de Aswardeby et Skredington ad reparandum pontes in pupplica strata inter Lafford et ecclesiam de Stowe juxta inquisicionem inde captam anno lvi. Henrici iij. coram Gilberto de Preston et sociis suis in comitatu Lincolniensi itinerantibus, per breve ejusdem regis," p. 305 (2 Ed. II.).

Finding out of the person who is to repair Chesford bridge, p. 314 (6 Ed. II.).

Refusal of the abbot of Fountains Abbey to repair Bradeley bridge, p. 318 (7 Ed. II.).

Hamo de Morston's case, p. 328 (11 Ed. II.), referred to above, p. 67.

Repair of the bridges of Exhorne, Hedecrone, and Hekinby, in the county of Kent, p. 339 (15 Ed. II.).

Inquest as to Claypole bridge. It is found that the inhabitants of Claypole are bound to repair it: "Ideo preceptum est vicecomiti Lincolniensi quod distringat homines predicte ville de Claypole ad reparandum et sustentandum pontem predictum in forma predicta," p. 350 (18 Ed. II.), &c.

V. (p. 95).

The King's journeys.—Petitions and statutes concerning the royal purveyors.

"Nullus vicecomes vel ballivus noster vel aliquis alius capiat equos vel carettas alicujus pro cariagio faciendo, nisi reddat liberationem antiquitus statutam; scilicet pro caretta

ad duos equos decem denarios per diem, et pro caretta ad tres equos quatuordecim denarios per diem." Magna Charta, first confirmation by Henry III., art. 23 (A.D. 1216). "Statutes of the Realm," Record edition, 1810, vol. i. p. 15. This article is found in successive confirmations of the great charter; the germ of it was contained in John's charter, A.D. 1215, art. 30.

"Item pur ceo qe le poeple ad esté moult grevé de ceo qe les bledz, feyns, bestaill, et autre manere de vitailles et biens des gentz de mesme le poeple, ont esté pris, einz ces houres . . . dont nul paiement ad esté fait, . . ." &c. Preamble to the statute 4 Ed. III., ch. iii. "Statutes of the Realm," A.D. 1330. See also statute 36 Ed. III., ch. ii.

Petition of the Commons, 25 Ed. III., 1351–52 ("Rolls of Parliament," vol. ii. p. 242): "Item prie la commune qe là où avant ces heures les botillers nostre seigneur le roi et lour deputez soleient prendre moult plus de vyns à l'oeps le roi qe mestier ne fust; desqueux ils mettont les plus febles à l'oeps le roi et les meliours à lour celers demesnes à vendre, et le remenant relessont à eux desqueux ils les pristerent, pur grantz fyns à eux faire pur chescun tonel, à grant damage et empoverissement des marchantz. . . ."

The inhabitants of the counties of Dorset and Somerset complain in the same way that the sheriff of these counties had taken of them "cynk centz quarters de furment et trois centz bacouns, à l'oeps le roi, come il dist, et il ne voillast pur sa graunt meistrie et seigneurie allower pur vintz quarteres fors qe pur sesse quarters, et c'est assaver bussell de dit blee fors que dis deniers, là où il vendist après pur xv deniers. Par quey vos liges gentz sount grauntement endamagé et vous, chier seigneur, n'estes servy des blées et des bacounes avauntditz . . ." (4 Ed. III., 1331, "Rolls of Parliament," vol. ii. p. 40).

Petition of the Commons to the Good Parliament of 1376: "Item prie la commune qe come le roi de temps passé et ses progenitours, nobles princes, soleient avoir lour cariage, c'est

assaver chivalx, charietz et charettes pur servir leur hostiel: et ore les purveours de l'hostel nostre dit seigneur le roi pur défaut de sa propre cariage et de bone governance prenont chivalx, charietz et charettes des povres communes, la environ par x leukes où le roi tient son hostel, si bien des gentz de loigne pays par xxiiii leukes ou lx passantz par la chymyne come des gentz demurrantz en mesme le pays, en grande arrerissement et poverisement des dites communes . . ." ("Rolls of Parliament," vol. ii. p. 351).

Complaint of the clergy at being subjected to the exactions of the purveyors (1376): "Item provisores et ministri regis pro provisionibus regiis faciendis feodum et loca ecclesiastica, invitis viris ecclesiasticis seu eorum custodibus non intrent, nec animalia aliaque res et bona inde auferant, prout fecerint et faciunt nunc indies, contra ecclesiasticam libertatem et constitutiones sanctorum patrum et statuta regni edita in hac parte. Nec in via extra feoda et loca predicta predictorum virorum cariagium carectasve capiant vel arrestent."

"*Resp.* Le roi le voet." ("Rolls of Parliament," vol. ii. p. 358.)

VI. (p. 114).

The recurrence of Leet-days and visits of Justices.

The Commons petition as follows the Good Parliament of 1376: "Item où de ancien temps ad esté custume qe les presentours dussent presenter les articles du lete et de vewe de frank plegg tan soulement deux foitz par an, . . . les baillifs avaunt ditz fount les povres gentz et les husbandes de pais, qeux dussent travailer en leur labours et husbandriez et pur le commune profit, venir de trois semaignes en trois à lour wapentachez et hundredez, par colour de presentement avoir, et rettent leur labours et leur husbanderiez au terre, sinoun q'ils leur veullent doner tiels ransons et fyns q'ils ne purront sustener ne endurer. . . .

" *Resp.* Il y ad estatutz suffisamment."

" Rolls of Parliament," 50 Ed. III., vol. ii. p. 357.

Again, the Commons having pointed out that the visits of the justices in eyre are a very great cause of trouble and expense to the people in time of war, the king suppresses the visits of those magistrates while the war lasts, except when any "horrible" case may fall out.

" Item priont les communes au roi leur seigneur q'il ne grante en nulle partie du roialme eire ne trailbaston durante la guerre, par queux les communes purront estre troblez ne empoveres, fors qe en horible cas.

" *Resp.* Le roi le voet."

" Rolls of Parliament," vol. ii. p. 305, 45 Ed. III., 1371.

VII. (p. 116).

The dress of the worldly monk.

According to the Council of London (1342): ". . . Militari potius quam clericali habitu induti superiori, scilicet brevi seu stricto, notabiliter tamen et excessive latis, vel longis manicis, cubitos non tegentibus [tangentibus in Labbe] sed pendulis, *crinibus cum* [two words not in Labbe] furrura vel sandalo revolutis, et ut vulgariter dicitur, reversatis, et caputiis cum tipettis miræ longitudinis, barbisque prolixis incedere, et suis digitis annulos indifferenter portare publice, ac zonis stipatis pretiosis miræ magnitudinis supercingi, et bursis cum imaginibus variis sculptis, amellatis [annellatis, L.] et deauratis, ad ipsas patenter cum cultellis, ad modum gladiorum pendentibus, caligis etiam rubeis, scaccatis et viridibus, sotularibusque rostratis et incisis multimode, ac croperiis [propriis, L.] ad sellas, et cornibus ad colla pendentibus, epitogiis aut *clocis* [this word not in L.] furratis, uti patenter ad oram, contra sanctiones canonicas temere non verentur, adeo quod a laicis vix aut nulla patet distinctio clericorum." Wilkins' "Concilia

Magnæ Britanniæ," London, 1737, vol. ii. p. 703; also in Labbe, "Sacrosancta Concilia," year 1342, vol. xxv. col. 1170.

According to the Council of York (1367): "Nonnulli . . . vestes publice deferre præsumpserunt deformiter decurtatas, medium tibiarum suarum, seu genua nullatenus attingentes . . . ad jactantiam et suorum corporum ostentationem." Labbe, Ibid. vol. xxvi. col. 467–8.

VIII. (p. 121).

Exactions of certain noblemen when travelling.

Petitions of the Commons, "Rolls of Parliament," vol. i. p. 290, (8 Ed. II.), A.D. 1314: "Item par là où asquns grantz seignurs de la terre passent parmi le pays, ils entrent en maners et lieus de Seint Eglise et des autres, et pernent saunz congé le seignur et les baillifs gardeyns de meisme les leus, et encontre lour volunté, ceo q'il voillent saunz rien paer encontre la lei et les ordenaunces, non pas eaunz regard à l'escomenge (excommunication) doné encontre tutz tels. Et si homme les devi rien, debrisent les eus par force, et pernent et emportent ceo qe beal lour est, et batent les ministres et destruent les biens, plus qe il ne covendreit, et autres grevouses depiz ultrages fount.

"Item il prenent charettes et chivaux de fair lour cariages à lour voluntez saunz rien paer et des queux nienteſoitz james n'est faite restoraunce à ceux qi les devient; ne il n'osent suire ne pleindre pur le poair de diz seignur qar s'il le facent ils sont honiz ou en corps ou en chateux; par quoi ladite comuneauté prie qe remedie soit fait en tels ultrages."

IX. (p. 130).

Passage of the Humber in a ferry.

"Ad peticionem hominum de Estriding petenc' remedium super nimia solucione exacta ad passagium de Humbr'

ultra solitum modum." The king directs the opening of an inquest, with power to the commissioners to re-establish things in their pristine condition. "Rolls of Parliament," i. p. 202 (35 Ed. I., 1306).

Another petition under Edward II.: "A nostre seigneur le [roi] et à son consail se pleint la comunauté de sa terre qe par là où homme soleit passer Humbre entre Hesel et Barton, homme à chival pour dener, homme à pée pur une maele, qe ore sunt il, par extorsion, mis à duble; et de ceo priunt remedi pur Dieu." The king, in reply, orders that the masters of the ferry shall not take more than formerly: "vel quod significent causam quare id facere noluerint." Ibid., p. 291 (8 Ed. II., 1314–5).

X. (pp. 156, 158, 162.)

The right of sanctuary.

Example of entries in the Durham sanctuary register: "Memorandum quod vj die mensis octobris, A° D^{i} M. CCCC LXX VII° Willielmus Rome et Willielmus Nicholson parochiæ de Forsate, convolarunt ad ecclesiam cath. Sancti Cuthberti Dunelm., ubi inter cætera pro felonià per eosdem commissâ et publice confessatâ, in, de, et pro occisione Willielmi Aliand, per eosdem antea occisi, pecierunt a venerabilibus et religiosis viris dominis Thomâ Haughton sacristâ ipsius ecclesiæ et Willielmo Cuthbert magistro Galileæ ibidem, fratribus et commonachis ejusdem ecclesiæ, immunitatem ecclesiæ, juxta libertates et privilegia gloriosissimo confessori Sancto Cuthberto antiquitus concessa, favorabiliter eis concedi, et per pulsacionem unius campanæ, ut est moris, favorabiliter obtinuerunt. Ibidem præsentibus, videntibus et audientibus, discretis viris Willielmo Heghyngton, Thomâ Hudson, Johanne Wrangham, et Thomâ Strynger, testibus ad præmissa vocatis specialiter et requisitis." "Sanctuarium Dunelmense," ed. J. Raine, Surtees Society; London, 1827, No. v.

On the question of sanctuaries the councils are explicit: "Firmiter prohibemus ne quis fugientes ad ecclesiam, quos ecclesia debet tueri, inde violentes abstrahat, aut ipsos circa ecclesiam obsideat, vel eisdem substrahat victualia." Concilium provinciale Scoticanum, A.D. 1225, in Wilkins' "Concilia Magnæ Britanniæ," London, 1737, vol. i. p. 616.

It was needful to take good care that the refuge was in a true church, duly consecrated. This is shown by the reports of cases in the Year Books. Here is a case of the time of Edward I.:—

"Quidem captus fuit pro latrocinio, et ductus coram justiciariis et inculpatus, dixit: Domine, ego fui in ecclesia de N. et dehinc vi abstractus, unde imprimis peto juris beneficium quod mittar retro unde ibi fui vi abstractus.—*Justiciarius.* Nos dicimus quod ecclesia illa nunquam fuit dedicata per episcopum. —*Priso.* Sic, domine.—*Justiciarius.* Inquiratur per duodecim: —Qui dixerunt quod illa ecclesia nunquam fuit dedicata per episcopum.—*Justiciarius.* Modo oportet te respondere.— *Priso.* Sum bonus et fidelis: ideo de bono et malo pono, etc. (formula of submission to the decision of a jury, *patriam*).— Duodecim nominati exiverunt ad deliberandos (*sic*)." "Year Books," edited by A. Horwood, 1863, vol. i. p. 541 (Rolls Series). Here the final result is not given. The Year Books not infrequently make mention of cases where the right of sanctuary is invoked, which shows that thieves did not neglect this advantage.

The abuses resulting from the right of sanctuary, especially with reference to St. Martin's le Grand in London, are described as follows in one of the Commons' petitions: "Item prient les communes, coment diverses persones des diverses estatz, et auxi apprentices et servantz des plusours gentz, si bien demurrantz en la citee de Loundres et en les suburbes d'icell, come autres gentz du roialme al dite citée repairantz, ascuns en absence de lour meistres, de jour en autre s'enfuyent ove les biens et chatelx de lour ditz mestres à le college de Seint Martyn le Grant en Loundres, à l'entent de et sur

mesmes les biens et chateux illeoqes vivre à lour voluntée saunz duresse ou exécution du ley temporale sur eux illeoqes ent estre faite, et là sont ils resceux et herbergéez, et mesmes les biens et chateux par les ministres du dit college al foitz seiséez et pris come forffaitz à le dit college. Et auxi diverses dettours as plusours marchantz, si bien du dite citée, come d'autres vaillantz du roialme, s'enfuyent de jour en autre al dit college ove lour avoir à y demurrer à l'entent avaunt dit. Et ensement plusours persones au dit college fuéez et là demurrantz, pur lour faux lucre, forgent, fount et escrivent obligations, endentures, acquitances, et autres munimentz fauxes, et illeoqes les enseallent es nouns si bien de plusours marchantz et gentz en en la dite citée demurantz, come d'autres du dit roialme à lour disheriteson et final destruction . . . Et en quelle college de temps en temps sount receptz murdres, traitours, come tonsours du monoye del coigne le Roy, larons, robbours et autres diverses felouns, malfaisours et destourbours de la pées nostre seignur le roy, par jour tapisantz et de noet issantz pur faire lour murdres, tresons, larcines, robbories et félonies. . . . Et apres tieux murdres, tresons, &c., faitz, al dit college repairent." "Rolls of Parliament," vol. iii. p. 503, A.D. 1402.

XI. (p. 190).

Mediæval romances in England.

The first romances recited in England were necessarily French; then men began to translate them. The bulk of the English romances are translated or imitated from the French. Very few were originally written in English. The French originals were in great repute, as numberless instances testify. Among many others, the translator of the romance of "William of Palerne," in spite of the liberties he takes, affirms that he follows the French text exactly, and glories in it:

"In this wise hath William al his werke ended,
As fully as the frensche fully wold aske,
And as his witte him wold serve, though it were febul."

("William of Palerne," translated about 1350; ed. Skeat, Early English Text Society, 1867, l. 5521). The translator adds that he did this work by request of Humphrey de Bohun, Earl of Hereford. The Earl ordered this poem on account of those persons who were ignorant of French, who at this time were, as we see, among those who might be interested by such literature.

"He let make this mater in this maner speche
For hem that knowe no frensche, ne neuer vnderston"

Ibid. l. 5532.

Layamon, who wrote at the beginning of the thirteenth century, inserted in his great poem, "Brut," the legends which make the race of the sovereigns of Britain descend from Eneas. Until that time this fabulous origin had only been set forth in Latin and in French. Layamon's "Brut" is largely borrowed from Wace, but the native poet added much to his original.[1] Numerous posterior English romances refer to this origin, which ceased to be disputed. Thus the author of "Sir Gawayne" opens by recalling that after the siege of Troy, Romulus founded Rome, "Ticius" peopled the Tuscan country, "Langaberde" Lombardy, and Brutus established himself in Great Britain. At the end he assures his readers that all his narratives are drawn from the "Brutus

[1] Layamon's "Brut," edited by Sir F. Madden, Roxburghe Club, 1847. For much information on the French versions of the legend, including Geoffrey of Monmouth, see "Bulletin de la Société des anciens textes Français," 1878, p. 104, and "La Litterature Française du Moyen âge," par G. Paris, 1888, secs. 54, 93; also on the whole subject, Mr. H. L. D. Ward's Catalogue of MS. Romances in the British Museum, i. pp. 198–277. [L. T. S.]

bokees," which was a sufficient guarantee of authenticity.[1] We know that the chroniclers were not less credulous on this point than the romanciers: the protests of Gerald the Cambrian and of William of Newbury (in the proemium of his history) were thrown away, and Robert of Gloucester, Ralph Higden ("a Bruto eam acquirente dicta est Britannia," "Polychronicon," ed. Babington, vol. ii. p. 4), the anonymous author of the "Eulogium Historiarum," and a host of other respectable chroniclers accepted these vain legends in their writings.

XII. (p. 207).

Popular English songs of the Middle Ages.

The following collections may be consulted:

"Ancient Songs and Ballads from the reign of Henry II. to the Revolution," collected by John Ritson, revised edition by W. C. Hazlitt, London, 1877.

"Political Songs of England from the reign of John to that of Edward II.," edited by Thomas Wright; Camden Society, London, 1839.

"Songs and Carols now first printed from a MS. of the xvth Century," edited by Thomas Wright; Percy Society, London, 1847.

"Political Poems and Songs," from Edward III. to Richard III., edited by Thomas Wright; Rolls Series, London, 1859, 1861.

"Political, Religious, and Love Poems," edited by F. J. Furnivall; Early English Text Society, London, 1866.

"Catalogue of MS. Romances in the British Museum," by Henry L. D. Ward, vol. i., London, 1887. See as to Robin Hood ballads, pp. 516–523.

"Bishop Percy's folio MS.—Ballads and Romances," edited by J. W. Hales and F. J. Furnivall, Ballad Society, London, 1867.

[1] "Sir Gawayne and the Green Knight," ed. R. Morris, 1864.

"The English and Scottish popular Ballads," now being edited by Prof. F. J. Child, Boston, U.S.A., 1882, &c.

We find in these collections many satirical songs on the vices of the times, on the exaggerations of fashion, the ill government of the king, on the Lollards, on the friars; pleasantries about women, with some songs of a higher character urging the king to defend the national honour and to make war. See for example Dr. Furnivall's book, p. 4. In this work is printed the song referred to in our text on the death of the Duke of Suffolk (pp. 6–11):

Here folowythe a Dyrge made by the comons of Kent in the tyme of ther rysynge, when Jake Cade was theyr cappitayn:

* * * * * *

Who shall execute y^e^ fest of solempnite?
Bysshoppis and lords, as gret reson is.
Monkes, chanons, and prestis, withall y^e^ clergy,
Prayeth for hym that he may com to blys.

And that nevar such anothar come aftar this!
His intersectures, blessid mot they be,
And graunt them to reygne with aungellis!
For Jake Napys sowle, placebo and dirige.

"Placebo," begyneth the bisshop of Hereforthe;
"Dilexi," quod y^e^ bisshop of Chester.

XIII. (p. 312).

Indulgences and the theory of the "Treasury" according to Pope Clement VI.

"Quantum ergo exinde ut nec supervacua, inanis aut superflua tantæ effusionis miseratio redderetur, thesaurum militanti

Ecclesiæ acquisivit, volens suis thesaurizare filiis pius pater, ut sic sit infinitus thesaurus hominibus, quo qui usi sunt, Dei amicitiæ participes sunt effecti. Quem quidem thesaurum non in ærario repositum, non in agro absconditum, sed per beatum Petrum cœli clavigerum, ejusque successores, suos in terris vicarios commisit fidelibus salubriter dispensandum, et propriis et rationabilibus causis, nunc pro totali, nunc pro partiali remissione pœnæ temporalis pro peccatis debitæ tam generaliter quam specialiter (prout cum Deo expedire cognoscerent) vere pœnitentibus et confessis misericorditer applicandum. Ad cujus quidem thesauri cumulum, beatæ Dei genetricis, omnium electorum a primo justo usque ad ultimum merita adminiculum præstare noscuntur, de cujus consumptione, seu minutione non est aliquatenus formidandum, tam propter infinita Christi (ut prædictum est) merita, quam pro eo quod quanto plures ex ejus applicatione trahuntur ad justitiam, tanto magis accrescit ipsorum cumulus meritorum."

"Dictionnaire dogmatique, historique ascétique et pratique des indulgences," by Abbé P. Jouhanneaud, Paris, 1852, p. 123–4 (being vol. xxvii. of Migne's "Nouvelle encyclopédie théologique").

XIV. (p. 319).

Sermon accompanying the display of a papal Bull (on the occasion of the coming of Henry of Lancaster).

"'Mes bonnes gens, entendez tous ici.
Vous savez bien coment le roy banny
A, à grant tort, vostre seigneur henry,
Et sans raison;
Et pource jay fait impetracion
Au saint pere, qui est nostre patron,
Que trestous ceulx auront rémission
De leurs péchiez

De quoy oncques ilz furent entachiez,
De puis leure quilz furent baptisiez,
Qui leur aideront tous certains en suez
Celle journée;
Et vesenci la bulle seellée,
Que le pappe de romme la louée
Ma envoié, et pour vous tous donnée,
Mes bons amis.
Vueilliez lui dont aidier ses ennemis
A conquerre, et vous en serez mis
Avecques ceux qui sont en paradis
Après la mort.'
Lors veissiez jeune, viel, feble, et fort
Murmure faire, et par commun accort,
Sans regarder ni le droit ni le tort,
Eulx émouvoir,
Cuidant que ce con leur fist assavoir
Feust vérité, tous le courent de voir;
Car de sens nont guères ne de savoir,
De telz ya.
Larcevesque ce conseil cy trouva."

"French metrical history of the deposition of King Richard II." (by Créton), edited and translated into English by Rev. J. Webb. "Archæologia," t. xx. p. 310.

This speech is attributed by the chronicler to Thomas of Arundel, Archbishop of Canterbury (d. 1413–14), and is supposed to have been delivered at the time of the landing of Henry of Lancaster in 1399 (Henry IV.)

XV. (pp. 314, 322, 325, 326, 337).

Ecclesiastical documents chiefly concerning English pardoners.

Richard de Bury on the Pardoners, A.D. 1340:

"Cum sit statutum in canone ne qui eleemosynarum quæstores

ad prædicandum aut indulgentias clero et populo insinuandum sine literis dioecesanis aut apostolicis admittantur, literæque apostolicæ quæstoribus hujusmodi concessæ ante admissionem eorum per dioecesanos examinari debeant diligenter : ex gravi tamen multorum querela ad nostrum pervenit auditum, quod nonnulli ex hujusmodi quæstoribus, non sine multa temeritatis audacia, motu suo proprio, in animarum subditorum nostrorum periculum et jurisdictionis nostræ elusionem manifestam, indulgentias populo concedunt, super votis dispensant, et perjuriis, homicidiis, usuris et peccatis aliis, sibi confitentes absolvunt, et male ablata, data sibi aliqua pecuniæ quantitate, remittunt, ac alias abusiones quamplurimas faciunt et exponunt."

"Registrum Palatinum Dunelmense," edited by T. D. Hardy, vol. iii. p. 325.

Provincial Synod of Dublin, 1348 :

"Cap. xxii. *De quæstoribus.* Item, quia eleemosynarum quæstores nonnullas abusiones in suis prædicationibus proponunt, ut decipiant simplices tantum, et nonnulla alia bona subtili vel fallaci potius ingenio extorqueant, nonnulla etiam mala in deceptionem animarum multiplicem perpetrentur; statuimus et ordinamus, quod nullus amodo quæstor sine literis archiepiscopi vel dioec. admittatur quovismodo. . . . Sacerdotes vero qui alio modo quam supra dicto, quæstores ad prædicandum voluntarie et scienter admittunt, per annum a celebratione divinorum ipso facto sint suspensi ; et ipsi quæstores, si contra præmissa aliquid attentaverint, ipso facto sint excommunicati. Et si per quadraginta dies perseveraverint, ad significationem episcoporum capiantur et incarcerentur, quousque de talibus aliud fuerit per loci dioecesanum dispositum. Quascunque literas hujusmodi quæstoribus hactenus concessas revocamus, præmissarum sententiarum relaxatione sine absolutione loci dioecesani reservata. Et capellani pecuniam ea occasione receptam ecclesiis cathedralibus restituant triplicatam."

Wilkins, "Concilia," 1737, vol. ii. p. 750.

Bull of Pope Urban V. "contra quæstores hospitalis Jerusalem in Anglia," 1369:

"Urbanus . . . archiepiscopo Cant. ejusque suffragancis, salutem. . . . Nuper dilectis filiis Johanne Sancti Dunstani West., Ricardo B. Mariæ Wolnoth, rectoribus, et Philippo de Braunton, ac Willelmo de Eya, perpetuis vicariis parochialibus ecclesiarum London. Exon. et Norwicen. dioec. ac nonnullis aliis rectoribus . . . nobis referentibus percepimus, quod quæstores priorum, præceptorum et confratrum domorum hospitalis S. Johannis Jerusalemitani in Anglia, de voluntate, conniventia, ratihabitione, seu mandato dictorum priorum . . . in pluribus contra juris et rationis metas impudenter excedunt. . . . nonnulli tamen quæstores priorum et confratrum prædictorum, gratia quæstus hujusmodi . . . ad rectorum et vicariorum hujusmodi ecclesias accedentes, et se ad prædicandum seu exponendum populo hujusmodi negotia quæstuaria offerentes, licet congrue et legitime requisiti, literas sedis apostolicæ vel dioecesani loci eisdem rectoribus seu vicariis sic requirentibus, ostendere seu exhibere penitus non curarunt neque curant; quin verius de voluntate, conniventia seu mandato de quibus prædicitur, denegarunt expresse contra constitutiones canonicas . . . prætendentes ipsos priores et fratres pro se et eorum quæstoribus in ea parte fore notorie privilegiatos, licet hoc neque notorium fuerit neque verum; et ut quadam astutia colorata ipsos rectores, et vicarios exhibitionem literarum hujusmodi sic petentes, acrius fatigent laboribus et expensis, ipsos eo quod exhibitionem literarum hujusmodi sic deposcebant et deposcunt, tanquam injuriatores contra eorum privilegia manifestos, et quæstuum suorum impeditores proclamarunt et proclamant, ipsosque ea occasione coram eorum conservatoribus seu subconservatoribus ad loca diversa et quandoque valde remota fecerunt et faciunt ad judicium evocari, et per conservatores sive subconservatores hujusmodi contra eosdem processus indebitos fieri, eosque nonnunquam excommunicari, aggravari et denunciari licet de facto, ac alia eis gravamina quamplura inferri procurarunt et procurant, in ipsorum

rectorum et vicariorum grave præjudicium et scandalum plurimorum: et insuper quæstores prædicti frequenter et potissime, quando satagunt alicui rectori seu vicario nocere, ad ipsius rectoris seu vicarii ecclesiam in aliquo die festo, præcipue quando populus solitus est offerre, accedunt, et ibidem quæstuare, seu nomina fratriæ seu fraternitatis suæ legere incipiunt et continuant usque ad talem illius dici festi horam, qua missa ibidem pro illo die convenienter non potest celebrari; sicque rectores et vicarios hujusmodi suis faciunt oblationibus, quæ eis in missis hujusmodi obveniunt, nequiter defraudari. Insuper in ecclesiis et locis ad eos seu dictum hospitale nullatenus pertinentibus, licet publice interdictis seu pollutis divina faciant etiam publice celebrari, et in eis pro eorum libito per se et alios sepeliunt corpora defunctorum; officium quoque seu negotium quæstuandi personis simplicibus et quasi illiteratis committunt,qui simplices aliis simplicibus erroneum præstantes ducatum, generaliter, ut de spiritualibus taceamus, in populo diffundunt errores."

Wilkins, "Concilia," London, 1737, vol. iii. p. 83.

Letter of Simon Sudbury, Archbishop of Canterbury, A.D. 1378:

"Simon, etc., dilecto filio commissario nostro Cantuar. generali, salutem, etc. Ad nostrum audientiam est perlatum, quod licet eleemosynarum quæstores, nisi apostolicas vel dioecesani episcopi literas exhibuerint, admitti non debeant, vel permitti indulgentias sibi concessas insinuare, et populo prædicare; nonnulli tamen quæstores, qui non sine multa temeritatis audacia, et deceptione multiplici animarum, ac elusione populi christiani, indulgentias remissionesque falsas et frivolas, et alia erronea . . . prædicant abusive tam per vos, quam per official. archidiaconi nostri Cantuar. de diebus in dies indifferenter illicite admittuntur."

Wilkins, "Concilia," vol. iii. p. 131.

Bull of Pope Boniface IX., A.D. 1390:

"Ad audientiam nostram, non sine magna mentis displi-

centia fidedignorum quamplurimum relatio perduxit quod quidam religiosi diversorum etiam mendicantium ordinum et nonnulli clerici sæculares etiam in dignitatibus constituti, asserentes se a nobis aut a diversis legatis seu nuntiis sedis apostolicæ missos, et ad plura peragenda negotia diversas facultates habere per partes, in quibus es pro nobis et Ecclesia Romana thesaurarius deputatus, discurrunt, et veras vel prætensas, quas se habere dicunt, facultates fideli et simplici populo nunciant et irreverenter veris hujusmodi facultatibus abutentes, suas fimbrias, ut vel sic turpem et infamem quæstum faciant, impudenter dilatant, et non veras et prætensas facultates hujusmodi mendaciter simulant, cum etiam pro qualibet parva pecuniarum summula, non pœnitentes, sed mala conscientia satagentes iniquitati suæ, quoddam mentitæ absolutionis velamen prætendere, ab atrocibus delictis, nulla vera contritione, nullaque debita præcedenti forma (ut verbis illorum utamur) absolvant; male ablata, certa et incerta, nulla satisfactione prævia (quod omnibus sæculis absurdissimum est) remittant; castitatis, abstinentiæ, peregrinationis ultramarinæ, seu beatorum Petri et Pauli de urbe aut Jacobi in Compostella apostolorum, et alia quævis vota, levi compensatione commutent; de hæresi vel schismate nominatim aut incidenter condemnatos, absque eo quod in debita forma abjurent et quantum possunt debite satisfaciant, non tantum absolvant, sed in integrum restituant; cum illegitime genitis, ut ad ordines et beneficia promoveri possint, et intra gradus prohibitos copulatis aut copulandis dispensent, et eis qui ad partes infidelium absque sedis prædictæ licentia transfretarunt, vel merces prohibitas detulerunt, et etiam qui Romanæ aut aliarum ecclesiarum possessiones, jura, et bona occuparunt, excommunicationis et alias sententias et pœnas, et quævis interdicta relaxent, et indulgentiam quam felicis recordationis Urbanus Papa VI. prædecessor noster, christifidelibus certas basilicas et ecclesias dictæ urbis instanti anno visitantibus concessit, et quæ in subsidium Terræ Sanctæ accedentibus conceduntur, quibusvis elargiri pro nihilo ducant, . . . et quæstum, quem

exinde percipiunt, nomine cameræ apostolicæ se percipere asserant, et nullam de illo nihilominus rationem velle reddere videantur: Horret et merito indignatur animus, talia reminisci. . . .

" Attendentes igitur quod nostra interest super tot tantisque malis de opportunis remediis salubriter providere, fraternitati tuæ de qua in iis et aliis specialem in domino fiduciam obtinemus, per apostolica scripta committimus et mandamus, quatenus religiosis et clericis sæcularibus hujusmodi, ac eorum familiaribus, complicibus, et collegiis, et aliis, vocatis qui fuerint evocandi, summarie, simpliciter, et de plano, ac sine strepitu et figura judicii, etiam ex officio super præmissis, auctoritate nostra, inquiras diligentius veritatem, et eos ad reddendum tibi computum de receptis et reliqua consignandum, remota appellatione, compellas, et quos per inquisitionem hujusmodi excessisse, vel non verum aut non sufficiens seu ad id non habuisse mandatum inveneris, capias et tandiu sub fida custodia teneas carceribus mancipatos, donec id nobis intimaveris."

Baronius' "Annales ecclesiastici," continuation by Raynaldus, ed. 1752, vol. vii. p. 525.

Opinion of the University of Oxford on Pardoners, A.D. 1414:

" *Articulus tricesimus nonus; contra falsas prædicationes quæstorum.*—Quia inverecundi quæstores turpissimos suos quæstus ad firmam emunt cum Simone, indulgentias vendunt cum Gyesi, et adquisita consumunt cum filio prodigo inhoneste, sed quod magis est detestabile, cum non sint in sacris ordinibus constituti, publice prædicant, ac false prætendunt quod absolvendi a pœna et a culpa tam superstites quam defunctos plenam habeant potestatem, cum aliis blasphemiis, quibus populum spoliant ac seducunt, et verisimiliter ad tartara secum trahunt, præstantes spem frivolam et audaciam ad peccandum. Abusus igitur hujusmodi sectæ pestiferæ ab ecclesiæ limitibus deleantur."

Articuli concernentes reformationem universalis ecclesiæ, editi per universitatem Oxon. Wilkins, " Concilia," vol. iii. p. 365.

Suppression of pardoners, A.D. 1562 :

"Cum multa a diversis antea conciliis, tam Lateranensi ac Lugdunensi, quam Viennensi, adversus pravos eleemosynarum quæstorum abusus remedia tunc adhibita, posterioribus temporibus reddita fuerint inutilia, potiusque eorum malitia ita quotidie magno fidelium omnium scandalo et querela excrescere deprehendatur, ut de eorum emendatione nulla spes amplius relicta videatur, statuit ut posthac in quibuscumque chrīstianæ religionis locis eorum nomen atque usus penitus aboleatur, nec ad officium hujusmodi exercendum ullatenus admittantur; non obstantibus privilegiis, ecclesiis, monasteriis, hospitalibus, piis locis et quibusvis cujuscumque gradus, status et dignitatis personis, concessis, aut consuetudinibus etiam immemorabilibus. Indulgentias vero aut alias spirituales gratias, quibus non ideo christifideles decet privari, deinceps per ordinarios locorum, adhibitis duobus de capitulo, debitis temporibus populo publicandas esse decernit. Quibus etiam eleemosynas, atque oblata sibi charitatis subsidia, nulla prorsus mercede accepta, fideliter colligendi facultas datur, ut tamdem cœlestes hos Ecclesiæ thesauros, non ad quæstum sed ad pictatem exerceri, omnes vere intelligant."

"Conciliorum generalium Ecclesiæ catholicæ, Pauli V. Pont. Max. auctoritate editus." Tomus iv., Romæ, 1628, second paging, p. 261.

XVI. (p. 345).

The first recorded crucifix sculptured from the life in England.

Narrative of Thomas of Burton, Abbot of Meaux, near Beverley : "Dictus autem Hugo abbas xv^us^ crucifixum novum in choro conversorum fecit fabricari. Cujus quidem operarius nullam ejus formosam et notabilem proprietatem sculpebat nisi in feria sexta, in qua pane et aqua tantum

jejunavit. Et hominem nudum coram se stantem prospexit, secundum cujus formosam imaginem crucifixum ipsum aptius decoraret. Per quem etiam crucifixum Omnipotens manifesta miracula fecerat incessanter. Unde tunc etiam putabatur quod, si mulieres ad dictum crucifixum accessum haberent, augmentaretur communis devotio, et in quam plurimum commodum nostri monasterii, redundaret. Super quo abbas Cistercii a nobis requisitus, suam licentiam nobis impertivit ut homines et mulieres honestæ accedere possent ad dictum crucifixum, dum tamen mulieres per claustrum et dormitorium seu alia officina intrare non permittantur. . . . Cujus quidem licentiæ prætextu, malo nostro, feminæ sæpius aggrediuntur dictum crucifixum, præcipue cum in eis frigescat devotio, dum illuc ut ecclesiam tantum introspiciant accesserint, et sumptus nostros augeant in hospitatione earundem." "Chronica monasterii de Melsa," edited by E. A. Bond, 1866–68, vol. iii. p. 35 (Rolls Series).

XVII. (p. 351).

The pilgrimage of Reynard:

"Ci commence le pelerinage Renart, si con il ala à Rome:

* * * *

Escrepe et bordon prent, si muet,
Si est entréz en son chemin,
Moult resemble bien pélerin,
Et bien li sist l'escrepe au col."

The travellers find in the "ostel Primaut," that is the house of Primaut, the wolf:

"Char salée, formache et oès
* * * *
Et si trovent bonne cervoise.

Tant but Belins que il s'envoise ;
Si a commencié à chanter
Et l'arche-prestre à orguener,
Et Dant Renart chante en fauset."

The speech of Reynard :

" Seignor, dist Renart, par mon chief,
Cest errer est pesant et grief ;
Il a el siécle meint prodome
Qui onques ne furent à Rome :
Tiex est revenuz des sept sainz
Qui est pires qu'il ne fu ainz.
Je me voil metre en mon retor,
Et si vivrai de mon labor
Et gaaignerai léelment,
Si ferai bien à povre gent.
Lors ont crié : outrée, outrée !
Si ont fete la retornée."

"Le roman du Renart," publié d'après les MSS. de la bibliothèque du Roi des xiii^e^., xiv^e^., et xv^e^. siècles, par M. D. M. Méon, Paris, 1826, vol. ii. pp. 127, 133 *et seq.*

THE END.

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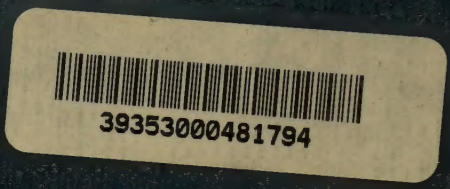
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